A. (Jus)

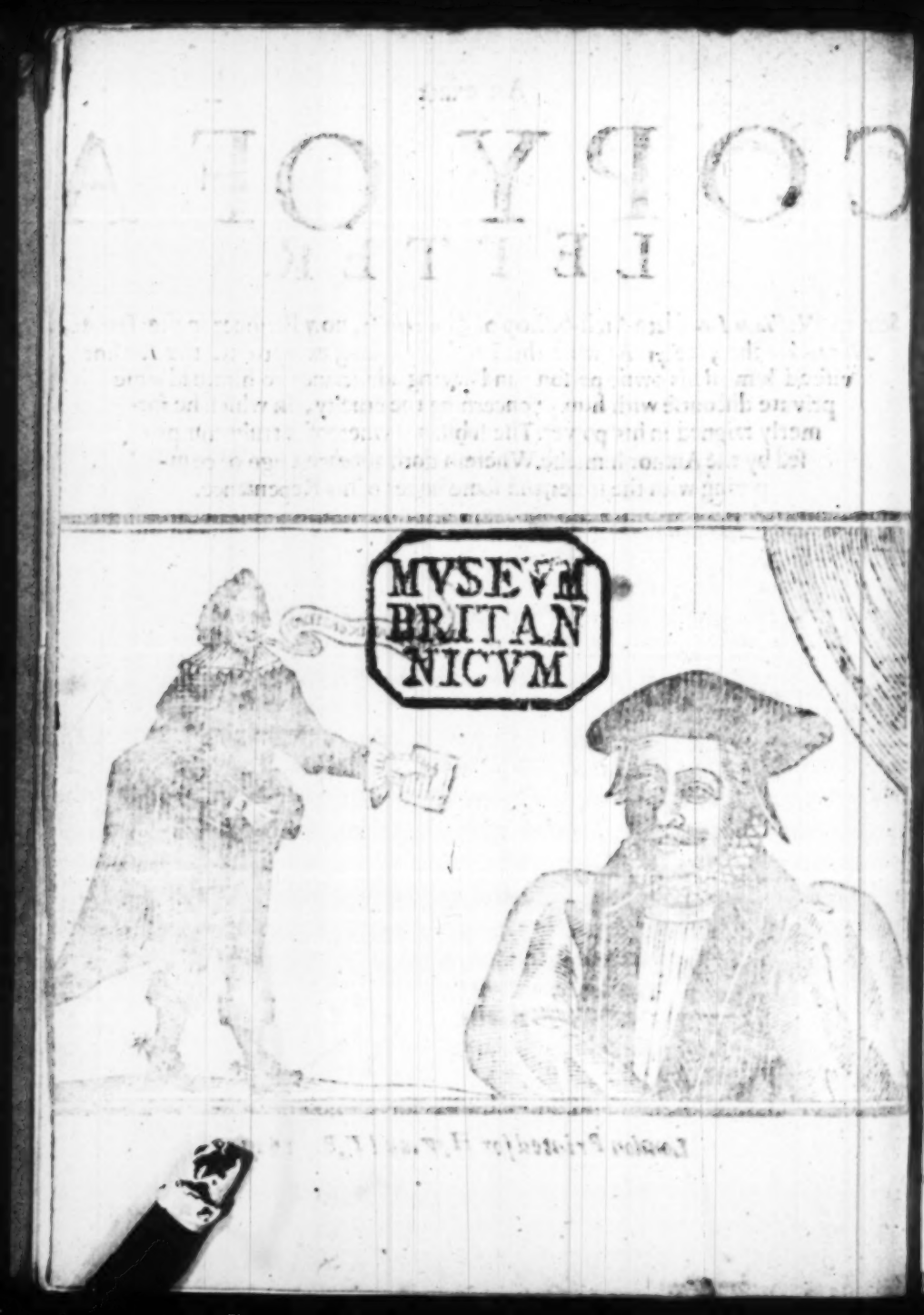
An exact 1

COPY OF A LETTER,

Sent to *William Laud* late Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, now Prisoner in the Tower, *November* the 5. 1641. At which his Lordship taking exceptions, the Author visited him in his owne person: and having admittance to him, had some private discourse with him; concerning the cruelty, in which he formerly raigned in his power. The substance whereof is truly composed by the Author himselfe. Wherein doth appeare a sign of complying with the times, and some hopes of his Repentance.

London Printed for H, W. and T, B. 1641.

n° 2° 2d


MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

An exact Copy of a Letter, sent to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, now prisoner in the Tower,

Novem.the 5. 1641.

My Lord.

YOur participating the sodain evils, & daily alterations incident to terrene frailty, and Natures imbecility, hath occasioned me, as well as others, to passe my judgment on your former course of life; and though I doe with most consent, you have done evill, yet doe I not with many consent, you have done it knowingly, but rather ignorantly, &c. by imprisoning Gods people, unjust proceedings, &c. The complainers in this case, are the Delinquents themselves, many of which will not be perswaded to have such a charitable thought, as I have of you: and I verily beleeve, that men do omit the Christian duty to pray for you; wherfore, my humble request unto your Lordship is, that you would be pleased to condiscend so far below your self, as to vouchsafe by way of answer hereunto, to vindicate your owne innocencie, and any charity. So also, shall they I hope, who are otherwise minded, be convinced of their harsh and uncharitable Censure, and so be brought to be otherwise minded: that so I with them, and they with me, may with one accord say, concerning you, and other offenders, after the examples of our Savior, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe*: and with his Martyr Stephen *Lord lay not this sinne to their charge*,

My Lord I am,

Your Lordships in all humblenesse, *A.*

THe letter being delivered to my Lords owne hand, he read it over the messenger being by, to whom he told that the Author had abused him: and done him wrong; which when the author understood, he went himselfe to him the next Lords day to the Tower, where he had admittance to his presence.

Of whom first he craved pardon for boldnesse; but the Bishop, laying aside that complementing with him, rebuked him for his letter, especially for charging him with imprisoning Gods people.

He answered, my Lord, quoth he, I have been both an Eye and an Eare-witnesse at the high commission court, when men truly fearing God, have bin called to the Bar, and your Lordship hath commanded to give them the oath which when they have refused, you have committed them to prison: so, quoth my Lord, it is well knowne I have shewed great favour and clemency to those obstinate men, in that I have sometime forborne them a twelve moneth together; and have in the meane time referred them to Godly and learned Doctors and Ministers, for satisfaction in that point: and when they out of wilfulnesse & obstinacy, would not be satisfied, I could doe no lesse by the order of the Court then commit them to prison.

Then he told my Lord, that he was confident it was not out of wilfulnesse, nor obstinacy, that they refused the Oath, but rather out of tendernesse of conscience, they being not satisfyed of the lawfulnesse of it.

What is more then you know, quoth my Lord?

It may be, quoth he, I know some of the men, and their conversation, that they are very godly men, and you know my Lord, our Savior warrants to judge the Tree by the fruites?

Stay

Stay, quoth my Lord, you and I differ in that point.

Then my Lord, said the man, it seemes you did it ignorantly according to my thoughts of you not knowing them to be the servants of God:

I had nothing to do: to judge their persons said the Bishop, nor question whether they were the servants of God or no, I judge all to be the servants of God until they apparently shew the contrary, but their action I judge to be evill, and what a matter was it to imprison 3. or 4. of them in a twelve months space, and in the meane time let thoulands in the City goe free, and if we had not taken such a course with some of them, the number would have so increased, and men would have taken liberty to have done what they list, as now we see they do: since we see authority, suppressed:

Then he told the Bishop that he makes no doubt, my Lord, if it please the Lord that the Parliament goe on they will take order that men shall not doe what they list, and though it seeme good unto them to suppresse that government, which hath bin heretofore, yet I hope they will establish another.

I pray God they may, for it is a lamentable thing to consider what disorder there is amongst people, at this time when men are suffered to frequent Conventicles, without Restraint.

Nay, therein my Lord you much mistake, for though I my selfe am a meane Scholler: and therefore know not so well as your Grace, what a Conventicle is: yet have I heard that a conventicle is properly, when a company of men met together, to a wicked intent, to plot & devise mischiefe to the Church or State: which I am certaine, these men you meane are far from; for though I my selfe have not much frequented such Assemblies: for which I think, I have rather cause to condemne, then justifie my selfe. Yet am I sure, that in their Assemblies, they pray earnestly for the King, and all in Authority.

Tell me, quoth the Bishop, what warrant have they to meete, it may be forty or threescore together, on such an occasion.

My Lord, quoth he, you know the prophet Malachi saith, then they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, and doth not the Apostle command us, not to forsake the fellowship of the Saints, but to edifie one another. Then the Bishop told him, that he said not that, without the consent of Authority, can they not doe this neighbor, with neighbor in publike Congregations.

My Lord, quoth he, it may be these men are perswaded in their consciences, that the Lord calls them to humbling themselves, in fasting and prayer: and it may be authority doth not see it meet to appoint a day: is it evill in the n then, some two or three families, it may be ten or twelve persons to meet together to spend a day on that occasion. And they cannot doe this alone by themselves; for men are apt to be dull and drousie when they are alone: and therefore they thinke it meet to be together, to stir up one another, as you know, my Lord, the more fewell is laid on the fire, the better it burnes, & the more it flames.

When he heard this, he smiled, and almost laughed out: flames, indeed, I thinke so, but said he in your Letter, you *quote Scripture*, that some in killing Gods Saints, shall thinke they doe him service, and you say you take me to be one of them. But I thinke, if you rightly understand your selfe, you would take your selfe to be one of them: for what warrant have you to call me a sensuall man? We say you judge the tree by the fruits, I pray you, what fruits have you seene to judge so of me.

My Lord, quoth he, I have seene and heard such things at the high Commission Court as have caused me to conclude undoubtedly: if you had bin inlightned with the true knowledge of Iesus Christ, you would not have sitten there, though the place were never so honourable.

Why quoth the Bishop what things have you seene and heard.

First

First my Lord said he, I will tell by experience as touching my selfe: I have beene fetched on by your Pursevant, and had to the registers Office, and beene bound over to the Court, and there taken oath, and have come againe to the Registers Office and there waited many a dayes, and at last have beene examined and afterwards waited againe at the Court, and yet never heard more of it; but indeed it was but the pursevants malice to bring me in. But is not this a miserable thing, my Lord, that I and others should be thus served, and must never know their accuser, nor recover any dammage.

Then he told him, that it was not in the power of that Court to give dammage, or else I could willingly have given it many times, and as for calling you in without any accuser, it was in our power to do it according to the Law of the Court, and the Kings advocate was to accuse you: but did ever any of you come to me in the Court day, and pray me to let you know your accuser, or dismisse you and I denyed it.

No my Lord, quoth he, I cannot say you did.

Then my Lord asked him what his name was, and what was the matter he was brought in for: for that you say, quoth he, you were so served.

I pray my Lord, quoth he, spare me in that, for I am not willing to tell you my name, and indeed the knowledg of it would be no gaine to you, but might be hurtfull to me: for it is not unpossible, but you may come into authority againe, and then you may call me before you, & chide me for this my bold attempt.

Even as pleaseth God, quoth the Bishop: but I will here passe my word before your friend, meaning the Messenger that carryed the Letter, that you shall never heare more of it: no if you have such thoughts of me, you are deceived in me, and many of you have bin much mistaken in me.

But yet he told my Lord, he desired to be spared in

that,

that. Well if you think it meet to tell me your name quoth the Bishop, doeas you please. Then the Author took occasion to envie against the Officers of the Court, and especially the Pursevants, seeing they were the notorious, fest Drunkards and Swearers as could be found among men. And he said, I am perswaded that if your Lordship had bin inlightned, you would not have suffered such about you. Alas, said he, it cannot be helped, for none but such will be in those places. I pray consider that me Lord Mayors Sergeants are not the honestest men.

Then was there speeched had about those men they call Puritans and precisians. And the Bishop affirmed it twise over, that hethought in his conscience, there were as honest men given them that name, as any were in London, we cannot said he, be to pure if we consider the strictnesse of Gods Law: but yet, said he, I am perswaded, that many of those simple-hearted men are seduced, sometimes by others that are more cunning then they, but I ever had a tender care over the conscience of men. I stand not on the word puritan, but if a man be an honest man, what ever he is I doe approve of him. Indeed, my Lord, quoth he, it may be, there may be some Hypocrites that may have that name put upon them, as you know among our Saviours Disciples there was one Judas, but yet, my Lord, it is pitty the true-hearted should fare the worse for their sake.

FINIS.

2

A PETITION

Sent to

THE KINGS

Most Excellent MAIESTIE,

in SCOTLAND, Novemb.

18. 1641.

From the Honourable House of Commons, now Assembled in Parliament.

Humbly requesting,

That all Popish-priests, Jesuits, and other ill affected persons, may instantly be banisht the Kingdome, and not suffered to be in, or neere the Court, at the time of his Majesties Returne into England, so to prevent such dangers as otherwise might ensue throgh their wicked plots and treacherous designes

London, Prin ted for B.W. 1641.

PETITION

to

THE KING'S

Moſt Excellent Majeſty

in SCOTLAND, November

18. 1641.

A PETITION Sent to THE KING.

WEe Your moſt Humble and loyall ſubjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, having to our ſingular comfort received your Princely reſolution, upon our Humble petition, to diſſolve the a Treaties; and having on our parts withall alacrity and readineſſe, humbly offered our aſſiſtance to your Majeſty, to maintaine the warre that may enſue thereupon, yet withall, ſenſibly finding what ſeditious and Traiterous poſitions, theſe incendiaries of *Rome*, the profeſſed engines of *Spaine*, the prieſts, papiſts, and Jeſuits, infuſe into the naturall borne ſubjects, what numbers they have ſeduced, and doe daily labour to make their dependance on the Pope of *Rome*, and the King of *Spain*, contrary to the Allegeance to your Majeſty, their Liege Lord: what daily reſort of

priests, and Jesuits into the Kingdome? what concourse of popish Recusants, more then usuall, are now in, and about the City of London, what boldnesse and insolencie have they discovered out of the opinion and other exercises of Roman Religion in the Houses of forainge Embassadors there is daily, to the great offence of your Majesties good subjects? What great preparations are made in *Ireland* fit for invasion, the bent whereof is as probable to be upon some of your other Kingdomes, as upon any other place, what encouragement it may be to the enemies of our Crowne, to have a party, or but the opinion of a party, who daily encrease together for that purpose, what disheartning to your loving Subjects, when they shall see more cause of feare from their false-hearted countrey-men at home, then their professed enemies abroad, what apparant dangers, by Gods providence, and your Majesties Wisedome we have escaped lately?

They in all humblenesse offer to your sacred Majesty, these their humble Petitions following.

First, that all Seminaries, priests, Jesuits, and all others having taken orders by any authority derived from the see of Rome, may by your Majesties declaration be forthwith commanded out of this Realme, and all others your Maiesties Dominions, and not to returne againe, upon severest penalties, of the lawes now in force against them.

And that all your Majesties subjects may hereby also be admonished, not to receive, entertain, comfort, or conceale, any of the viporous brood, upon the penalty of forfeiture, which by the lawes may be imposed upon them.

2. That your Majesty would be pleased to give strength and speedy charge to the Justices of the peace, in all the parts of this Kingdome, that according the lawes in that behalfe made, and the orders taken by your Majesties privy Counsell, heretofore for policy of state, that they do take from all Popish Recusants legally convicted, or judicially suspected.

All such Armour, Gunpowder, and Ammunition of any kind, as any of them have either in their owne hands, or in the hands of any other for them, and to see the same safely kept and disposed of according to the law.

3. That your Majestie would be pleased to command all Popish Recusants, or any other, who by any law are forbidden to come to the Kings Court, forth with under paine of your Majesties high displeasure, and the severe execution of your Majesties lawes against them, to retyre themselves to their severall dwellings or places by your lawes appoynted, there to remaine and be confined within five miles, according to the lawes of this Realme: and to that purpose to discharge all the past licences granted unto them for their repaire thither. And that they presume not

hereafter to come to *London*, or within ten miles of *London*, or to the Kings or Princes Court whereſoever.

4 That your Majeſty would forbid and reſtaine the great reſort and concours of your Majeſties owne ſubjects, for there hearing of maſſe and other exerciſes of Roman Religion, to the houſes of forraign Embaſſadours or Agents reſiding here, for the ſervice of their ſeverall Princes or ſtates.

5 That whereas of late in ſeverall Counties of this Kingdome, ſome have beene truſted in the place of Lieutenants, Commiſſioners, of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, Juſtices of the peace, and Captaines in their Countries where they dwell, which are either Popiſh Recuſants, or non-communicants, for the ſpace of a yeare now paſt, or doe not uſually reſort to the Church, to here divine ſervice, nor bring any good certificate there, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to diſcharge them of their places of truſt by which they have power in the Country where they live, as is not fit to be put into the hands of ſuch perſons ſo ill affected.

6 That your Majeſty would be generally pleaſed to put in execution, all the lawes made againſt Recuſants. And that all Judges, Juſtices of peace, or other Miniſters of juſtice, to whoſe care the ſaid things are committed, may be commanded to doe their duty therein.

7 Thus ſeeing we have beene ſo happily delive-

red from that danger which thoſe creatures now diſſolved, and that uſe which your ill-affected ſubjects made thereof; would certainely have drawne us, and cannot but fore-ſee and feare, leaſt the like may ſuddenly happen, which will bring much perill on your Majeſties Kingdomes.

We are moſt humble ſuitors to your Majeſty, to ſecure the health of your ſubjects, by the ingage of your unto them. That upon no occaſion of manage or treaty, or any requeſt in that behalfe, from any forraigne Prince or ſtate whatſoever, you wil take away or ſlaken the executioner of the hands againſt Popiſh Recuſants.

To which their humble Petitions proceeding from their moſt royall and dutifull affections towards your ſacred Majeſty, their care of their Countries good, and their confident aſſurance that it will much advance the glory of God, and the everlaſting honour of your Majeſty,

They humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to vouchſafe your Anſwer.

FINIS.

Sermon is extant for every man to peruse. And afterward, *not one of all the Fathers did ever so into pact that place Phil. 2. 10.* The impudency of which negative, I cannot sufficiently wonder at, and amongst his Syllogisms (such as they are) the *Iesu Iurisdip confuted* Authour hath this expression, *And that the Name Iesus is the Name above other names, what Divine is so doltish as to imagine it & so bold as to avow it?* And yet the Apostle in distinct words saith, *He hath given him a Name above every name, &c. Phil. 2. 10.* And the *Holy Ghost* him selfe (by his leave) is so bold as to avow it, and (by his grace) so shall ever the meanest of his poore despised servants.

Th. Ch.

FINIS.

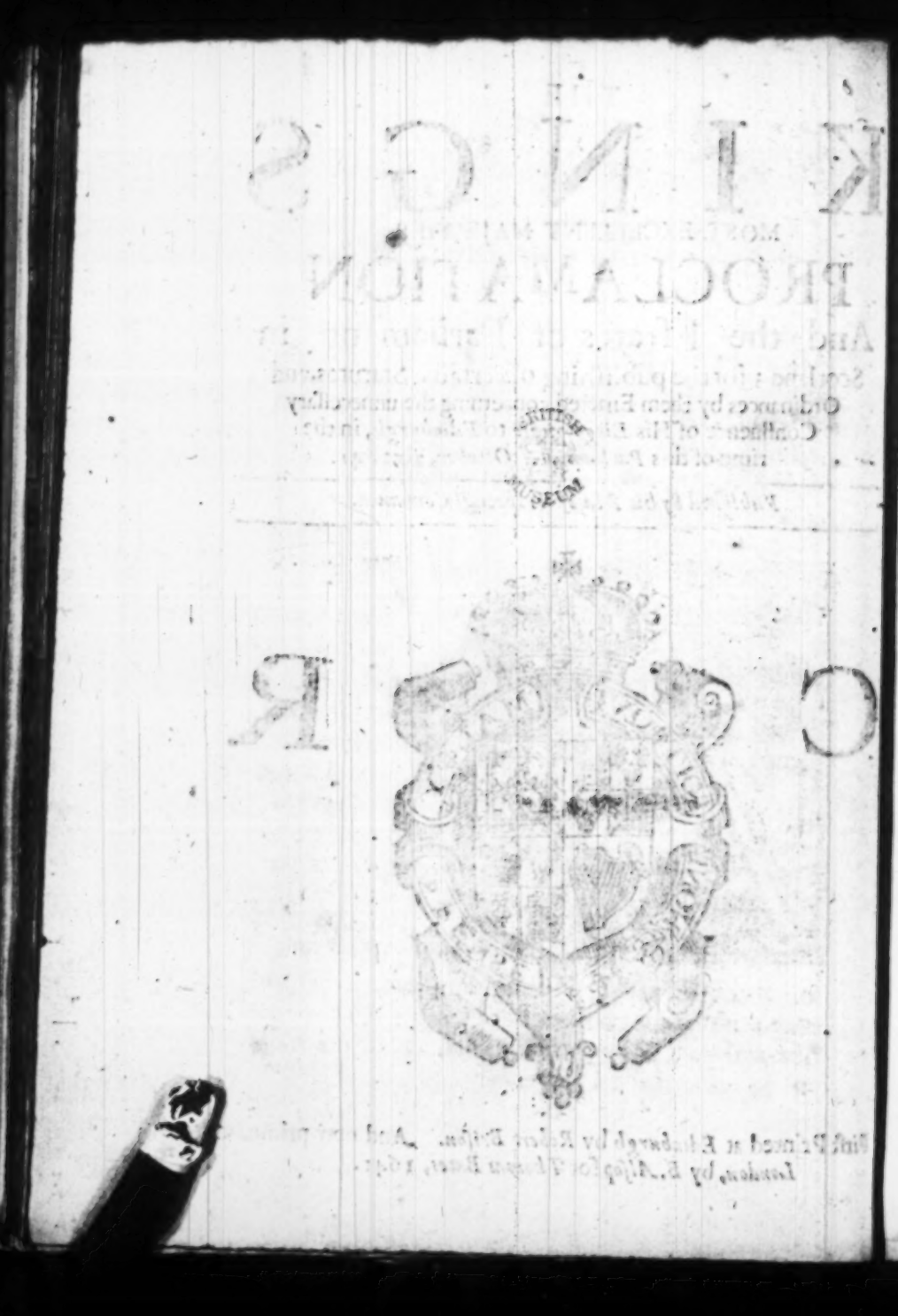
THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIES PROCLAMATION

And the Estates of Parliament in Scotland; for the publishing of certaine Statutes, and Ordinances by them Enacted, concerning the unnecessary Confluence of His *Liege-people* to *Edinburgh*, in the time of this *Parliament*. *October*, 20. 1641.

Published by his Majesties Speciall Command.

C R

First Printed at *Edinburgh* by *Robert Brison*. And now printed at *London*, by *B. Alsop* for *Thomas Bates*, 1641.



HIS

MAJESTIES

Proclamation Enent the unnecessary confluence of His *Highnesse Lieges* to *EDINBURGH*, in the time of this *Parliament*, 1641.

AT *Edinburgh*, the 14. Day of October, in the yeare of our *Lord God*, 1641.

Forasmuch, as the Kings Majesty, and Estates of *Parliament*, having taken to their serious consideration, the necessity of setting down some solid course for preventing any prejudice that may arise by the confluence of people to the town of *Edinburgh*, & by their frequent repaire upon the streets, And that all proceedings may be peaceable

and regular, his sacred Majesty and Estates of Parliament, for the better effectuating hereof, hath statute and ordained, and hereby statutes and ordaines, that all these in *Edinburgh*, *Chanongate*, *Leeth*, and Suburbs (within the town of *Edinburgh*'s jurisdiction) who have any persons lodged within their houses, or in Chambers, or Roomes let by them, shall give up in Roll the names of all these so lodged, either within their houses, or in severall Chambers, & Roomes as said is, with their designations to whom they belong, and upon whom they depend, to the Provest and Bailyes of *Edinburgh*, that thereby both the numbers, & the occasion of their being in town may be knowne. Which rolls of all these persons, who are lodged within the jurisdictions of *Edinburgh*; Ordaines the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, to deliver to the *Lord Generall* within 12 houres after the *Proclamation and publication hereof*: And according as any of these persons so lodged, shall change their *lodging*, Ordaines the *Rolls* to be renewed to the Magistrates, and given up to them, and delivered by them to the *Lord Generall* every twenty foure houres.

That the intention of the Ordinance above-written bee not frustrate by the change of Lodgings.

As also, ordaines all these in the *Potteran*, and *West-port* (whereof the Lairds of *Inner-leeth* are Superiours) and these of the rest of the Suburbs, and other parts, neare adjoyning to the towne, and not within the townes jurisdictions Likewise, to give up a list and Role of all persons lodged within their houses, chambers, or roomes to the Lord Generall

a

his Excelence: and ordains the Magistrates of *Edenburg*, and other superiours forelaids to see the same put in execution within their jurisdictions *respective*, *And declare that these who faile to give up the said Rolles after Proclamation and Publication hereof, within the space and in manner Foresaid, shall lose their freedomes and liberties, and shall pay for each faile an hundred pounds to their Magistrates and be further punished in their persons: as the Parliament shall thinke fit. And in like manner our* Soveraigne *Lord, and Estates of Parliament, Statutes & ordaines, That there be strong guards kept by the towne of* Edenburg, *both for night and day, of such numbers, and in such places, as the Magistrates of* Edenburg *by the advice and appointment of the Lord Generall shall think fit.* And that the guards be not injured, resisted, nor forced by no persons of whatsoever quality, under the pain of death to the resisters and forcers. And the injurers of the Guards to be punished by the Lord generall his Excellence, according to the demerit of the Delinquent and quality of the fact. And our *Soveraigne* Lord and Estates of Parliament declares, that what shall be done by these Guards in performance of their duties against any persons the time of their resisting or forcing of the said guards, shall inferre no hazard nor perrill of law, against these of the Guard actors thereof: As also declares that the placing and ordering aforesaid of these Guard, shall be without preiudice of the Constable Marshall, Towne of *Edenburgh*, or any other parties their rights and liberties which shall remain un-unparted thereby.

And alſo, the Kings Majeſty, and Eſtates of *Parliament*, ordaines that theſe Regiments which are yet undisbanded, ſhall be drawne neare towards *Edinburgh*, to the effect, the ſame may with the greater conveniency be muſtered, and moneyes provided for their pay, that hereafter they may be licenciate: And in the meane time, ordaines theſe Regiments to bee quartered in ſuch manner, and in ſuch places neare about the town of *Edinburgh*, as the *Lord Generall* ſhall think fit and expedient: And in like manner, the Kings Majeſty, and Eſtates of Parliament, Statutes and ordaines, that no man of whatſoever quality, keepe with him any moe then his owne domeſticke ſervants: And that all perſons, who have not neceſſary attendance at this preſent *Parliament*, repaire to their ſeverall homes and dwellings: As alſo, that all perſons of whatſoever quality, who either have already brought their friends, followers, and dependers to *Edinburgh*, or any parts adjoyning thereto, that they preſently diſmiſſe them backe to their own houſes; And theſe that have given order to their friends, followers, or dependers, to repaire to *Edinburgh*, that they immediatly diſcharge their incomming. And becauſe there be ſundry Gentlemen who have neceſſary buſineſſe in *Parliament*, and will apply themſelves to attend ſome Noble-men, in whom they have intereſt; Therefore the Kings Majeſty & Eſtates, ordains that theſe Gentlemen themſelves, or the Noble-men to whom they have relation, ſhall give up their names to the *Lord Generall*, preſently after the Proclamation and publication hereof, that they may ſtay by his *Excellence* approbation

bation. And farther, the Kings Majesty, and Estates of *Parliament*, ordaines that notice be presently taken of the whole Officers and souldiers, and who of them hath gotten pay, and who wants; And ordains these who have received pay, to retire off the towne unlesse the *Lord Generall* shall tolerate their stay upon their necessary businesse in towne, represented and knowne to his Excellence: And for such as yee want their pay, appoints course to bee taken for the same. Like as also, his Majesty and Estates of *Parliament*, ordaines the number of 40 or 50 horsemen to be leavied and payed upon the publick charge for attending the *Lord Generals* orders for the good & peace of the Kingdome. Which whole particular Articles above-mentioned the Kings Majesty and *Estates of Parliament*, statutes, ordaines, and commands to be observed and obeyed by all the *Lieges*, in manner, and under the pain *respective* before prescribed, and committeth the execution of the same whole Articles to the *Lord Generall*, whom they ordain to see the same obeyed, and put in execution. And last, the *Kings Majesty*, and Estates of *Parliament*, ordains Proclamations to be made with all diligence, at all the head Burghs of each shire, discharging all *Convocation* of his Majesties *Lieges*, within any part of this Kingdome, upon whatsoever pretext, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament. And to the effect the whole premisses above-mentioned, may be the better known to all the *Lieges*, and that none pretend ignorance thereof, the *Kings* Majesty, and Estates of Parliament ordaines publick Proclamation to be made hereof at the Mer-

cate

cat Crosse of *Edinburgh*, by sound of Trumpet, by the *Lyon* himself, or his Brethren the Heraulds, with their coates of Armes upon them: And also ordains these presents to be printed, that thereby all persons may have better occasion to informe themselves of the same, and give obedience thereto; Whereanent andanent the whole premisses above-mentioned, these presents are, and shall be a sufficient warrand.

Subscribed by the President of the Parliament, at command of the Kings Majesty, and the Estates of Parliament.

October 20. 1641.

FINIS.

6.

A REMONSTRANCE CONCERNING THE PRESENT TROUBLES FROM THE MEETING OF THE ESTAEES OF the Kingdome of SCOTLAND, *April* 16. *unto the Parliament* of ENGLAND.

Printed in the Year of *God.* 1640.

A REMONSTRANCE CONCERNING THE PRESENT TROUBLES FROM THE MEETING OF THE ESTAEES OF the Kingdome of SCOTLAND, *April* 16. *unto the Parliament* of ENGLAND.

WHEN we look unto the Records of the ages past, to find out the greateſt *bleſſings* that God hath beſtowed on this ILE, wherin we live, we cannot but acknowledge, that next to the *Chriſtian Faith*, the Union of the two Kingdomes, under one Head, doth by many degrees exceed all other that fall in the reckoning. Many *practiſes* and *policies* were ſet afoot by our Princes of old, to haſten this *work*: but all in vain did the plots of men ſtrive to croſſe or prevent the *councell* of *God*, who had reſerved for us and our *fathers* that ſingular *happineſs*, to ſee that Union begun neither by a breach of *faith*, nor by bloud, but as the gift of *God*, to fall in our ſtands by the ordinary gate which the Princes right ſets open unto all, and the generall and common intereſt of both Nations did heartily receive and imbrace. With what ſucceſſe this Union hath begun and continued to this day, the *peace* and *plenty* we have enjoyed all this time, can witneſſe in part, whiles all the reſt of *Europe* almoſt, round about us, hath been a Field of *bloud* and *deſolation*. What apprehenſion the enemies of our Religion had at our peaceable conjunction, and with what eye of jealou-

ſie the neighbour States did look upon us, and envie our happines, the Hiſtory of theſe times can beare record: but for the preſent, in regard of what hath paſſed theſe many yeares bygone, and what we preſently feel and fear, we may truly confeſſe to our own guilt and great diſhonour, that neither *Scotland* nor *England* unto this day hath righty *underſtood* or made uſe of this rare *bleſſing* of *heaven*, for increaſing their reſpect abroad, or ſecuring their own ſafety at home; neither have the reformed Churches found that *comfort* and *relief* which they did expect from us in the day of their *diſtreſſe*, but on the contrary we have been made, even againſt our *wills*, a *broken reed*, a *rock of offence*, and a ſhipwrack unto all that have ſought unto us for ſhelter from the ſtorme, and to our ſelves the one Nation againſt the other, a rod of correction and jealouſie, in the hands of a few wicked and ungodly men, men of ſeparation, who divide the King from his people, and the people from their King, and who raiſe up brethren againſt brethren, that they in the end might prey and make havock of all. Amongſt many that have been authors of theſe evils under which the two Kingdoms have for a long time groaned, and belike muſt either now or never be disburthened, none deſerve ſo juſtly to be challenged in the firſt place as ſome amongſt you who call themſelves Churchmen, but have left their ſtation to become ignorant and unhappy Stateſmen, who have made the Church and the Tenets therof, an inſtrument of bondage to the Subject, of *liberty* to themſelves, and of *unjuſt uſurpation* to the Prince, whom we had reaſon to feare long agoe, by your example, and whom we find named as the chief inſtrument and object of your juſt feares of the change of Religion and government of Eſtate in the Kingdome of *England*, in that grave and ſolemn Remonſtrance that was made not many yeares agoe, by the houſe of Commons to the Kings Majeſty, if that had ſtopped them any way, your pulpits and pamphlets can beare witneſſe for them and the reſt of their crue ſince that time, yea how conſtant they are to theſe wretched ends, their attempts upon us, and that deep plot of obtruding the ſeeds of all Popiſh ſuperſtition and tyranny, upon our Kirk, in the Bookes of Common Prayer, and Canons, will be a ſtrong evidence for them how much they have deſerved of *Rome*, to make that Kirk which had departed fartheſt from her to be firſt in the return, and exemplar unto others and how much more they may yet deſerve of them, and all the enemies of thoſe two

King-

Kingdomes, if they offer for a sacrifice in a bloudie Warre, the Religion and Liberties of both the Nations, to appease the fury of their present disappointment, and prevent the shame of their deserved fall.

Certainly the posterity will hardly beleeve (as we who have seen it cannot but wonder) how it hath come to passe, that the Subjects of *Scotland* (whose Union with *England* this day is known to be of greater force, for her assurance at home, and strength abroad, then all the *alliances*, *practises*, *policies*, *conquests* your Princes have made from the beginning) should have so long *persisted* their native Prince residing amongst you to do them Justice, wherein he is debtor to his people, and to heare their just complaints against the *usurpation* of a few men, who were undermining the professed Religion and government of the State, and to suffer them to live according to their Laws, and yet could never be heard nor answered in the point of their just desires, farre lesse will they guesse what hath been the ground of that merit and trust of one domineering Prelat in the affection of the Prince, that it should be more forcible to dissuade, then all the *supplications* and *remonstrances* of so ancient and *faithfull* a Nation, who among all the Kingdomes of *Europe* have longest continued and maintained in one Line the honour of the Royall Crown, together with the preservation of their own Liberties, should have power to move. Truly for our selves when we call to mind what courage and constancie God hath given unto us since the beginning of these *troubles*, to stand for the maintenance of our Religion and Liberties, that we have not suffered our selves to be drawn headlong unto the servitude of *soules* and *bodies*, from which there had been no hope of Liberty for us or our posterity, and which in regard of our conjunction with you under one King, had been a violent prejudice, and of dangerous consequence for your Liberties when they come to be questioned in their own time and place, and on the other part when we remember what strange and violent wayes were taken by our adversaries to keep from the *English* Nation the knowledge of our affaires, and what unjust and falle aspersions were laid upon all our *actions* and *intentions*, to provoke you to be actors of that *revenge* that was determined against us by the insolent advice of such, who now govern his Majesties Councels, and settle their own ill acquired greatnes by the *oppression* of his *obedient* Subjects in their *Religion* and *liberties* in both *Kingdomes*, we cannot but *blesse* God who *armed* us with an *invincible patience* and *resolution* to eschew for our part

to the uttermoſt of our power any Nationall breach? For ye may remember when contrary to our expectation his Majeſty by all the evil councell of thoſe men, did march towards us with an Armie, we neglected all courſes which might advance our *humane ſafety*, rather then ſtart from any jot of our *obedience*, or give any ſeeming diſtaſte to our deare Brethren of *England*, and rather adventured the ruine of our own Countrey, then indangered theirs: Yea further, when we did with horrour and amazement heare thoſe unexampled Proclamations given out againſt a whole Nation, who were never tainted with the leaſt *thought* of *diſobedience* to their Prince his *juſt commands*, according to the rule of their Lawes, Notwithſtanding of this great *provocation*, there was nothing to be heard amongſt us but vowes for his Majeſties *proſperity*, and hearty deſires from all to ſpend their *bloud* for the increaſe of his *eſtate*, and ſervice of his Crown, and who abhorred then to be reduced to that *extremity*, as to arme themſelves for their own *defence* and *preſervation*. It will ſcarcely be beleeved by Strangers, by what means two Nations ſo near together, and ſo ſtraitly tyed in all the bonds of *goodwill* and *mutuall reſpect*, where there was ſo little cauſe of eſpouſing theſe quarrells, wherin none of the Nations were concerned or wronged by the other in their own proper *rights*, ſhould be brought to ſuch a poſture, and near ſo dangerous a rupture, that would not been eaſily (to ſay no more) pieced up again in our dayes, but it was the worke of *God*, and it ſhould be *wonderfull* in our eyes, who in the carriage of all this great buſines, hath made every ſtoppe and let, caſten in by the adverſary, a ſtep of advancement, to the furthering of his Cauſe, as is well known and acknowledged by all whom *God* hath *honoured* to be the leaſt inſtruments in this work, who alſo made this a ſingular meane to teſtifie our *loyaltie*, and the *ſincerity* of our *hearts*, where we preſented our humble and juſt deſires unto his Majeſty, and for the *honour* of the cauſe which we maintain, and the tender regard to the *credit* of our own Prince (although then armed againſt his own *people*) and for the brotherly reſpect unto the Nobility, and others of our neighbour Nation, intending nothing, we beleeve, but to follow the King, although really ſatisfying the *ambition* and *bloud thirſting revenge* of a miſerable Preſat. We laboured in the *treatie* to give all ſatisfaction on our part that could be required of moſt *loyall* Subjects, and ſenſible of our Kings honour (ourenemies being judges) even to our own apparent diſadvantage, for we delivered all

place

places into his Majesties hands, which were desired, in testimony of our *obedience*, and although they might have been in our hands, pledges of assurance for performance of these Articles that were agreed to be granted in the following Assembly and Parliament; and now contrary to our expectation are turned for Engines of *terrour*, and Fetters of *slavery* to frustrate us from obtayning the benefit of that *capitulation*. Notwithstanding of all breach of *promise* we cannot but professe according to our tender respect to our Prince, wherein we are inwardly grieved for the dishonour that is done to his Majesty by the bad instruments that are about him, that neither we were then over-reached, nor do we yet repent upon our part for that great trust and confidence we reposed upon his Majesty, for we did then remember that we were dealing with our Prince, with whom as we should not strive for appurtenaces, when the maine was granted, so we might rest assured, that if he could not be brought in his own mind to judge aright how farre he had been misled against us his own people, who had given such an ample testimony of our trust, and of the interest we should have in his favour above all other, but still continue to pursue any advantages to our prejudices: we did not otherwise think but when ever he had a minde to breake, he could never want ill grounded pretence, to alledge against us; and it was fittest for us rather to hazard the disadvantage, and commit the successe to God what ever prejudice we should suffer; for if the word of a King which should be the Oracle of *truth* to his *people*, and the *faith* of *promises* and *contracts* under hand and seale, which is the ground-work of trust in all humane society, and is sacred and inviolable amongst Infidels and Turks, may not justly challenge for us the performance of the Articles of the Treaty upon his Majesties part, then may we truly think that nothing we could have framed or desired then, would have been for our safety of any avail unto us, as nothing had done us good or succeeded according to our minde in all these things we have condescended unto (wherunto we were not oblidged by any duty or respect whatsoever, otherwise then that we might not be defrauded of the full and reall performance of the Articles of *agreement*) but on the contrary it doth evidently appeare by all that hath past, that there hath been no desire nor meaning of *peace* in the hearts and minds of our adversaries unto this day; for all the businesse of the *capitulation* hath been taken by them as a cloak to cover their more cunning and crafty designes,

deſignes, hoping thereby to weaken us in time by their wicked policie, whom they could not then overcome by open force: making us a ſhow to diſſolve all Forces on either ſide that they might lay the Foundation of a more dureable warre, by ſetting ſtrong Garriſons on the Border, receiving the ſtrong holds of the Kingdome to be keeped after that condition they were in before theſe *troubles* began, and preſently preparing them for neſts of violence to the chief parts of the Kingdome: Calling forth by his Majeſties *letters* a great number of our chief men under weak pretences of buſineſſe (when all the matters of the *treaty* had been ended with a few of that number) unto *Barwick*, and when ſome of them came, keeping matters in the clouds untill the reſt were come, and ſending them back again like ſtales to bring in their fellows, and when this did not hold, laying then plots deep and a farre off to entrap ſome of our principall men, as *God* hath wonderfully diſcovered ſince, and will more and more to the confuſion of theſe who have been authors and abetters to ſuch baſe aſſaſinats. And which hath been the maſter-piece of their ſubtill device: ſuffering the Aſſembly to goe on and determine all matters of the Kirk that had been in queſtion. The Commiſſioner in the Kings name conſenting to all the Acts that paſſed, promiſing alſo to ratifie them all in the Parliament that was preſently to follow, plotting hereby that what they gave with the one hand, they would take away with the other, for this ſeeming of ſetling matters in the Aſſembly, and withholding the civill ſanction of the Parliament for their being and exiſtance in the Common-wealth, as it would make them really of no effect, ſo it did gain a colour and pretext to that deſigne they did moſt intend: that the next rupture, to which they were preparing, ſhould not be for matters of Religion which were all ſetled in the Aſſembly, as they did alledge, but for other civill differences in the Common-wealth, and truly in all appearance the matters of the Kirk were ſetled in that Aſſembly, with the conſent of the Commiſſioner, but that wiſe men began to doubt of the *ſincerity* of the work, when they found him by his after-declarations and explanations digging a poſterne to eſcape and make way, for his after denyall of what had been concluded. And in theſe tearms the Parliament did begin, and hath continued not to ſettle the affairs of the Kirk as was promiſed, and was certainly expected by us: but to bring in a precedent of ſervitude (which neither we nor our Fathers were acquainted with) and

ſo it hath been broken off and adjourned, by his Majeſties own authority, without conſent of the Eſtates, which is directly againſt the Laws and practiſes of this Kingdome, and contrary to the Articles of *agreement*: And although our predeceſſours took another courſe, yet we came onely with *ſupplications* and *prayers*, and to ſhew our invincible *obedience* unto his Majeſty, ſent up our Commiſſioners to *London*, who were rejected, and never ſeen nor heard, and yet hoping with this unexampled *patience* to overcome the malice of our adverſaries, we ſend up again our Commiſſioners with *propoſitions* that were ſo *juſt*, as that they contained nothing but what was before granted unto us, under his Majeſties hand and ſeal, nor could receive any denyall from a *pious* and *juſt* Prince, as being all comprehended in this. And which had been the ſumme and ſubject of all our *ſupplications*, *proteſtations*, *informations*, *declarations*, from the beginning, namely, that the Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome, which had been violated, and the Religion which was manifeſtly infringed, might in a free Aſſembly and Parliament be again confirmed, and the unworthy authors legally queſtioned, and which had been more expreſſly ſet down in the Articles of *pacification*, that as there according to the tenor of the Articles of *agreement*, all matters civill were to be judged by Parliaments, and all Eccleſiaſticall matters by the aſſemblies of the Kirk: And that as the Aſſembly promiſed by his Majeſty had been granted and had concluded the differences of the Kirk, ſo his Majeſty would not delay or deny the concluſion of the Parliament, for ratifying the acts of this Aſſembly, and ſettling other differences of the Common-wealth, as was fully agreed in that Treatie at the Kings Camp, yet theſe *propoſitions* and deſires being ſo neceſſarie and vitall unto this Kingdome could find no acceſſe unto the eares of the gracious King, by reaſon of the powerfull diverſion of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Deputie of *Ireland*, who (ſtrengthened with the high and mighty Faction of Papiſts neare his Majeſty) onely ſide in all matters of *ſpirituall* and *temporall* affairs, and makes the neceſſity of their ſervice to his Majeſty appear in being the only fit *inſtruments* (under the pretext of *vindicating* his Majeſties *honour*) to oppreſſe both the juſt liberties of his *free* Subjects, and the true reformed Religion in all his Kingdomes. In which deviliſh deſigne, we have great cauſe to ſay they are far advanced, if the granting of a free Aſſembly and Parliament to us at this time, which hath been the ground of all our juſt de-

 ſires

ſires from the beginning, and the concluſion of the Treatie this laſt yeare, as the onely mean to cure all the evills of Kirk and State, and ſettle the peace and welfare of both Kingdomes, Prove in the end, as it appeareth this day, like the Councel of *Trent* to the Chriſtian Kirk, which was appointed for *reforming* the abuſe therof, yet through the ambition and covetouſneſſe of Kirk-men, and the miſerable jealouſies of the Princes of the time, who minded more their private end and intereſt then the cauſe of *Chriſt* and his Kirk, was found in effect the active engine and inſtrument to eſtabliſh and ſettle the tyranny of the Pope and his Clergie: wherfore the greater and more lively are our apprehenſions of danger at this time, that all theſe crooked and croſſe plots, interchecking one another, in denying a Parliament to us, where it was promiſed upon the *honour* of a King, and for the *ſafety* of two ſuch Nations, in granting it unto you, where it was not expected, for the reaſons that all wiſe men cannot but remember, and in forcing one upon *Ireland*, where none is deſired: Giving out Commiſſions to deſtroy us before we can apprehend any other or new guiltineſſe, but that we have been conſtant ſuters for the concluſion of the Parliament, and the fulfilling of the Articles of the treaty, raiſing our Parliament contrary to the Laws, and the expreſſe Articles of the *agreement*, inforcing Gariſons upon us, that they might force us to a neceſſary denyall of ſuch unreaſonable demands, and to a neceſſity to provide for our ſelves: that all theſe, we know, are done and deviſed to pick a quarrel, and to be the ground of a falſe and wyre drawn Remonſtrance againſt us, and now by the particular inſtigation of theſe men we named before, a mighty army is preparing, and an utter ruine threatned to our Religion and Countrey. Leſt in regard of theſe premiſſes, our ſilence in ſo neceſſary a time ſhould argue a neglect of our duty to *God* and our King, the *ſafety* and *honour* of our Countrey, the *peace* and *welfare* of both the Nations, what ſo nearly trenches to the prejudice and hazard of all theſe, cannot be longer forborne: Therfore we profeſſe before the *Chriſtian world*, and to our dear brethren of *England*, eſpecially the *repreſentative* Body of the Kingdome, now happily conveyned in both the Houſes of *Parliament*, whom it moſt concerns, that we cannot otherwiſe judge and eſteem, but that all theſe Councels that have been given of late by theſe intemperat Counſellors, who direct the courſe of all affaires, do not onely proceed from ſuch perſons as to ſerve their own ends under colour

colour of advancing his Majesties Prerogative, doe weaken Royall power, and bring the Kingdomes unto confusion, but that they truly are first hammered in *Spain* and in the *Conclaves* and put into the hand of their cunning Artisans among you; who have ever been a viperous brood, which with tooth and naile, have assayed to rent the bowels of their own mother, yea who never sooner learned to obey the Roman Church as their mother, but assoon they acknowledged the Catholick King for their Father, and their own King for an usurper, if they think him to be an Heretick: So that we are perswaded that neither the invincible Armado of the *eighty eight*, nor the Gunpowder plot, nor any other Royall Navie from thence, like unto that which came the other yeare upon your coast, (the which ye had the more reason to suspect that it came so unlooked for, and at so unseasonable a time) needs to be *attempted* any more for the ruine of this Ile, but onely that they be carefull (as we doubt not they are) that the fire of this civil warre which hath been so long smoaking may be once kindled, and that they be ready under-hand to adde fewell to the flame, wherin they will not be wanting, especially where every thing is so near that can furnish matter, and all is farre off that can help to extinguish the same, when it is once begun, yea, which is worse for us all, when it is apparent, that it cannot be setled without great hazard even of them that may seem to overcome in the end: And although that we may justly suspect that this calling of you together at this time by their suggestion, who have raised this fire of civil discord in this famous Isle without your consent or advice, be rather to perswade you to bring *oyle* then *water* to quench the flame, so that in the heat of these broyles you may be induced to *contribute* to the overthrow of your best *friends*, while they avenge themselves of their enemies: Notwithstanding of this, we hope that it will not be displeasant unto all good men in these honourable Assemblies of both houses, that we with great joy of *heart* and freedome of *spirit* professe and declare, as we do this day, that all our *obligations* and mutuall assurances of *love* and *brotherly kindnesse* are so nearly twisted and joyned together with you in all *duties* toward *God* and Man; Prince and People, that we cannot but have the same *friends* and *foes*, either in the *defence* of our common *safety* against *forraigne foes*, or in the *maintenance* of our severall *rights* against inward and homebred underminers who are more dangerous, except we would depart from the

onely firme rule of our own *safety* and *preservation*. And therefore since in regard of the *situation* of this whole Isle, and the Union under one Head, we are all, as it were, one house, if it fall we shall be all buried in the ruines, we are all imbarqued in one ship, if it perish or split upon the rocks of division, hardly can we escape: Suffer us to rejoyce with you in the midst of this storm, for this first sunne-shine of *comfort* and good hope that we see you who are the true Pilots, brought to the helm: And give us leave to conjure you for the interest we have in the common *adventure* of these rich goods, our *peace*, our *liberties*, our Religion, which are all in one hold, that ye abandon not the ship of the Common-wealth in this *tempest*, although it did belong to you to have been called when the season was more calme, and yet let it be the true ground of your *comfort* and *encouragement*, that when the skie was clear, you have forewarned our great Master, of the clouds that were gathering, and although the winds were invisible then to most, yet to many of your house of Commons, and others also of all ranks: they that did blow then to gather these clouds together, were well known, and from what coast they came, and many humble desires and earnest suites have been made by you to his gracious Majesty, that he would not abandon his own and the Kingdomes *safety*, unto the pleasure of men in a voyage full of dangerous and *fearefull straits*, in the conduct of which, they had nothing but their own *ambition* and privat gain, for compasse and said. And who have thrust both Prince and people out of the safe harbour of the quiet calme unto this present storme, wherin they are to make profit of both our shipwrack, if in this strait it were not allowed to the meanest passenger to give warning of the imminent danger, we notwithstanding of our place and interest in your welfare might hold our peace: but since we have been in the first *watch*, and have indured the first and greatest *torment* of this *storme*, while you have been at rest; for your assurance that we cannot abandon you, or leave you alone one your turne, when you are so neer to give tryall of your courage and skill, you may perceive by what hath passed, that no Assembly nor *Parliament*, no rotten Cable, and slipping Anchor of Articles and *agreement*, whereunto we had fastened our *hopes*, can be any road and harbour of *safety* unto us, so long as both our enemies sit at the Helme and govern all courses that are to be followed amongst you. Therfore before we come to advise what are in our judgement the most

fitting

fitting means for removing of the evils of us both, give us leave to touch in passing what we apprehend have been the concurrent causes to bring you by degrees from that height of *happinesse*, wherin somtime ye were glorious in the sight of *Europe*, to this gulf of misery and abasement wherein ye have *fallen*, and drawn us by example and *imitation*, that in this sad *representment*, as in a darke shade, the glorious *light* of your appearing day may be more *comfortable* and *refreshing* unto us both, which is the hearty wish and assured hope of your dear Brethren in *Scotland*, because of the sensible feeling of that great mercy of *God* upon themselves, who have been farther in the transgression, and at a lower ebbe in mind and spirit, then ye can well imagine before their troubles began; therfore, because our evils are not of yesterday, and could not have overflowd the face of this Isle on a sudden, let us search up unto the well head and period of time, where and when they began first to spring and arise, when we left to fear others by reason of our Union, then began we to have need to look for evill from our selves: the subtile enemies of this Isle knowing that what was not to be attempted by open force, was to be undertaken and pursued by cunning and secret practises, took the advantage of the humours of men, following commonly the nature and the conditions of the times, did make the surfets and ease of *peace* more dangerous to the life of the Estate, then the straits and hazards of *warre* had been before, disposing the Subjects to ease and slavery, an inuring the Prince to follow their *appetite* and the rules of uncontrouled power: then began the publicke waves of *honour* and *reputation* to be unfrequented: then the use of *Parliaments* which is the stay and strength of your Kingdom to be suspected, and so these eyes and eares of the Prince and People, the great Councel of the Land did make way peece and peece to the darke passages of the corner of a Cabinet, where *flatterie, malice, envy* and *partialitie* amongst few hands, disguises with false appearances without controule all that comes in their handling, and makes the people miserable, and the Prince infortunat, since they have gotten footing, *Parliaments* have been called not to ease the grievances of the Subject, but to supply the necessities of the Prince, and so whereas they should have helped to *cure*, they have increased the diseases of the ESTATE: and because there can be no evill humour in the Body that can maister your skill, if you please to apply fitting remedies, and what have

been

been formerly in practise, therfore you are made to disagree amongst your selves about the method of the cure, and when you begin to incline to an agreement your *consultations* are broken off, and so by these meanes the Common-wealth languisheth without hope of *relief*, the Princes mistakes and the Peoples *grief* and *burthens* doe equally increase, and every breach of a *Parliament* begets a new grievance and maladie to the people, so much the more dangerous and deadly, that the Authors of these abuses) when you use not your courage and constancie to maintain that power and place which your Predecessors have put in your hands, and wherof the posterity will call you to accompt, as a right of entaile and their proper inheritance which cannot be weakened in your hands without your eternall *infamie*, and their endlesse losse) begin to despise you, and take courage to undermine and blow up the *foundation* of your once well setled Estate: bringing you in contempt with the people, for the guard of whose *liberties* you have so long continued, and in *hatred* with the Prince, for whose honour and *safety* it hath alwayes been, that none about him should be more powerfull, nor the Laws, and nearer him in place and affection, then you whose Councells could not be corrupted by ends: these are they who bringing you once to mind your owne things, and to be careless of the Publick, have teached the Princes, that all the *rights* and *liberties* of the Subject, and the *maintenance* of them, are doales of grace, and *gifts* of meere *favour* proceeding from the Prince (and not the true birth-right of the Subject, which they may truly challenge) which are to be continued or changed as ther Princes shall think fit: who have teached Princes to use that maxime in a free Kingdome to wrong ends: *Parliaments* are in their power to begin, continue, and break them off, as they find the fruit of them good or bad, so are they to have their being, or not to be at all, thus they have done what is in them to make the Royall *authority*, which should be like a Sun beame shining for the comfort and light of others, turn to a Comet and blazing star, a matter of wonder and admiration for the time, and a prognostick of worse things to follow. Truly the prerogative of the Prince, which hath been keeped in veneration, and as a secret untouched amongst the wisest Princes and the best times, which is that which the Laws have given him above all private men, for the common safety of us all, and cannot be used to another end, but for our good, had not suffered so much in it self, and lost of its proper

luſtre, by the oft and common handling thereof, to the manifeſt prejudice of the Subjects right, and the reall weakening of the true Royall power, had it not falne in ſome of your Clergies hand, who to the ſtaine of the Kirk and the bane of the Common-wealth, have ſubjected all men, and all Laws, to the appetite of the Prince, of whom they have the abſolute rule, that ſo under that goodly viſour of his Royall power, they may accompliſh at laſt that great deſigne of the change of the Religion and government of the Eſtate which they have ſo long aimed at: whereof they cannot faile in this happy conjuncture, where all things promiſes them good ſucceſſe. A Prince enraged againſt his own native people, by their procurement, who will not be perſwaded that they are good Subjects to him, becauſe they are avowed enemies to them, who have been the deſtroyers of their Religion, and the troublers of the peace of the Kirk, to whom it is neceſſary that he forget that he is their naturall Prince, while he remembers that he is advanced to be the Monarch of the whole Ile, and with whom of neceſſity he is obliged to continue in this quarrel, that under the pretext of their rebellion, he may have leiſure to arme, and make the one Kingdome a ſcourge to the other, while in the end they both become *ſlaves*, which if they refuſe, he cannot eſchew of force to bring in ſtrangers, and uſe ſuch other power as *God* hath put in his hands (by the doctrine of theſe good divines, to the eſtabliſhing of the boundleſſe *government* wherat they ayme, ſo by the joynt helpe of the Papiſt, who are a ſtrong Faction amongſt you of late, and of others, whom they call good Subjects, and are the greateſt number, who while they are going on in any courſe to helpe themſelves, cannot think they are accomptable to *God* or Man for any wrong they are doing to others, theſe alſo concuring who are of great number and of no ſmall *force* in any *ſtate*, who are content to wear *fetters* themſelves, ſo they may be of gold, and they have the making of them, or helpe thereunto for others, all theſe meeting together, they cannot miſſe to effectuat their deſignes, and theſe are they who look at this time to undoe us, and hope aſſuredly to work you to their ends. And for this effect, as it appeares, are ye called together after ſo many breaches and breaking up of *Parliaments* in *England*, whereby his Majeſty had been deprived of the faithfull councels and free aides of his people heretofore, and the preſſures and grievances of the Subjects daily more and more increaſed without hope of reliefe, that all

men

been formerly in practise, therfore you are made to disagree amongst your selves about the method of the cure, and when you begin to incline to an agreement your *consultations* are broken off, and so by these meanes the Common-wealth languisheth without hope of *relief*, the Princes mistakes and the Peoples *grief* and *burthens* doe equally increase, and every breach of a *Parliament* begets a new grievance and maladie to the people, so much the more dangerous and deadly, that the Authors of these abuses) when you use not your courage and constancie to maintain that power and place which your Predecessors have put in your hands, and wherof the posterity will call you to accompt, as a right of entaile and their proper inheritance which cannot be weakened in your hands without your eternall *infamie*, and their endlesse losse) begin to despise you, and take courage to undermine and blow up the *foundation* of your once well setled Estate: bringing you in contempt with the people, for the guard of whose *liberties* you have so long continued, and in *hatred* with the Prince, for whose honour and *safety* it hath alwayes been, that none about him should be more powerfull, nor the Laws, and nearer him in place and affection, then you whose Councells could not be corrupted by ends: these are they who bringing you once to mind your owne things, and to be careless of the Publick, have teached the Princes, that all the *rights* and *liberties* of the Subject, and the *maintenance* of them, are doales of grace, and *gifts* of meere *favour* proceeding from the Prince (and not the true birth-right of the Subject, which they may truly challenge) which are to be continued or changed as ther Princes shall think fit: who have teached Princes to use that maxime in a free Kingdome to wrong ends: *Parliaments* are in their power to begin, continue, and break them off, as they find the fruit of them good or bad, so are they to have their being, or not to be at all, thus they have done what is in them to make the Royall *authority*, which should be like a Sun beame shining for the comfort and light of others, turn to a Comet and blazing star, a matter of wonder and admiration for the time, and a prognostick of worse things to follow. Truly the prerogative of the Prince, which hath been keeped in veneration, and as a secret untouched amongst the wisest Princes and the best times, which is that which the Laws have given him above all private men, for the common safety of us all, and cannot be used to another end, but for our good, had not suffered so much in it self, and lost of its proper

lustre,

ſuſtre, by the oft and common handling thereof, to the manifeſt prejudice of the Subjects right, and the reall weakening of the true Royall power, had it not falne in ſome of your Clergies hand, who to the ſtaine of the Kirk and the bane of the Common-wealth, have ſubjected all men, and all Laws, to the appetite of the Prince, of whom they have the abſolute rule, that ſo under that goodly viſour of his Royall power, they may accompliſh at laſt that great deſigne of the change of the Religion and government of the Eſtate which they have ſo long aimed at: whereof they cannot faile in this happy conjuncture, where all things promiſes them good ſucceſſe. A Prince enraged againſt his own native people, by their procurement, who will not be perſwaded that they are good Subjects to him, becauſe they are avowed enemies to them, who have been the deſtroyers of their Religion, and the troublers of the peace of the Kirk, to whom it is neceſſary that he forget that he is their naturall Prince, while he remembers that he is advanced to be the Monarch of the whole Ile, and with whom of neceſſity he is obliged to continue in this quarrel, that under the pretext of their rebellion, he may have leiſure to arme, and make the one Kingdome a ſcourge to the other, while in the end they both become *ſlaves*, which if they refuſe, he cannot eſchew of force to bring in ſtrangers, and uſe ſuch other power as God hath put in his hands (by the doctrine of theſe good divines) to the eſtabliſhing of the boundleſſe *government* wherat they ayme, ſo by the joynt helpe of the Papiſt, who are a ſtrong Faction amongſt you of late, and of others, whom they call good Subjects, and are the greateſt number, who while they are going on in any courſe to helpe themſelves, cannot think they are accomptable to God or Man for any wrong they are doing to others, theſe alſo concuring who are of great number and of no ſmall *force* in any *ſtate*, who are content to wear *fetters* themſelves, ſo they may be of gold, and they have the making of them, or helpe thereunto for others, all theſe meeting together, they cannot miſſe to effectuat their deſignes, and theſe are they who look at this time to undoe us, and hope aſſuredly to work you to their ends. And for this effect, as it appeares, are ye called together after ſo many breaches and breaking up of *Parliaments* in *England*, whereby his Majeſty had been deprived of the faithfull councels and free aides of his people heretofore, and the preſſures and grievances of the Subjects daily more and more increaſed without hope of reliefe, that all

men

men (who looked upon the train of affaires, and marked what undue courses had been taken of late, that there should be no need of their meeting, and how the number and height of offenders is increased, for whose safety it is not that *Parliaments* come in place and request again) may justly marvell to see this day, and in all likely-hood conjecture that either this *Parliament* will prove the happiest that ever was in this Isle for the good and peace of the Kingdomes, or else (which *God* forbid) will become the *fatall* engine and axletree in our enemies hand, for the overthrow of Kirk and State, turning our *doubts* unto *despaires*, and our *feares* into a certainty of *confusion*. Wherfore the more need have all good men who love the *truth* of Religion, the *honnour* of the King, the *safety* of the Kingdomes in so necessary and perillous a time to be instant with *God* by Fasting and Prayer, that as the beginning of your meeting together is the subject of all mens *feares* and *hopes*, good or bad, so the close may be in fruit and memory, the joy of the present age, and the blessing of posterity, whereof there is no small ground of hope at this time; For if that spirit of *wisdome*, *courage*, and *true zeale* for the good of Religion, and *safety* of King and Kingdomes do but begin as in former time to appeare in your Councels, who knoweth what recompence *God* is preparing for your often disappointments in that kind: the which we are moved the rather to beleeve and expect, that the powerfull hand of *God* hath forcibly led them who have been the authors of your evils, and actours in the mischief intended against us; against their will to call for your assistance to oppresse us; and surely we think that what Art can invent, and malice can doe, will not be wanting (even amongst some of your number) to move the rest to consider aright of all the advantages of the time, and reconceal the differences that are amongst themselves and labour to seek the ease of your own burthens when you may have them at an easie rate with small expense and paines, to increase ours, and many specious pretences will be offered, to hide the bad intentions of a few, and the ill consequences of their privat designes against the publick quiet of the Kingdomes, but certainly a thick cloud of prejudices and misrepresentations of all our businesses most assuredly be casten before your eyes, and great must that darknesse be, before so *wise*, so advised a Judicatorie of all the choice *wits* in that Kingdome condescend to that *resolution* which in effect carrieth with it, in furthering the overthrow of our Religion and Liberties

berties, and in the buriall therof to begin and digge a Tomb for your own to follow, and to make the end of this *Parliament* a mean that there should never be need of any hereafter. But we expect (Right Honourable) better things of you, and such as belong properly to the happinesse of this time, for the glory of *God* in the advancement of his *truth*, for the honour of the King in punishing of the wicked, for the welfare of the Kingdomes, that in our Union they may be crushed, who in our division have builped their hopes, and made this warre with your Brethren, the Trojan horse to bring in all these calamities, which a Civill warre will undoubtedly inforce upon this Ile, and we are certainly perswaded that the singular *wisdome* and *justice* of your Honourable Court, which can have no other end in all their Counsell, but the service of his Majesty, and the safety of his Kingdomes (which cannot be separated in any consideration whatsoever) will judge otherwise of the state of our affairs, and affoord us better measure then we have found as yet at the hands of these men, who as they have been the Authors of our evil, and of that corruption that was creeping in, in Kirk and State, so have both you and we suffered much more by them, and have greater reason to complain of the inconvenience and mischief of the remedie that they have applyed since, then of the disease it selfe: In vain doe they think to cover their wicked designes with the bare pretext of their *zeale* and affection to his Majesties greatnes and dignity, seeing it tends to the ruine and destruction of his *faithfull* Subjects, whose *riches* is his *treasure*, whose *quiet* is his *glory*, whose *hearts* and *affections* are his *strong garisons* that cannot be overcome, and whose *prosperity* is the *happines* of his Crown, and miserable and wretched are the effects of that power, which produceth nothing but weaknes to the Prince, and *calamity* to his Subjects, and in vain do we expect that *God* will blesse in our age what he hath cursed in all ages before. Let us look unto the Records of former ages, and we shall ever find, that there is not any thing that doth so much move the wrath of *God*, as to see his worship and Churches profaned, and to fall into the hands of these who have sold themselves to the world, and are devouted to the Temporall service of the Prince: where ever it hath been practised, it is a certain demonstration of the alteration and change of an Estate, and of their miseries and disgrace who abuse it licentiously, their affaires alwayes declining even unto their end. We need not put you in mind of the sturres

and hot conteſts of your beſt Princes, and of greateſt ſpirit; with your Archbiſhops at home, to keep down that Papacie they claymed to themſelves amongſt you, and to ſuffer them to be Kings beſide them, which could not be granted but at their diſcretion: they that lookt to the dangers of this time, and who they are that be the Authors of this miſchief intended, may eaſily perceive, that if all the Subjects of the two Kingdomes could be moved to undergoe that burthen the Biſhop of *Canterbury* and his followers would put upon us, and could be perſwaded in Conſcience, that we were bound to obey theſe ſpirituall Fathers in all their commands, we ſhould ſoon ſee they would alledge ſome other ground for their aſpiring greatneſſe, then the *zeale* of his Majeſties ſervice and honour, and the Princes that are to follow would find, that all their paines was for themſelves, and to eſtabliſh their own tyranny over Prince and People. Or, are there any ſo ignorant and wilfully blind to think, that all that ſpight and malice they carry to the Covenant of *Scotland* is, becauſe that it hath weakned the Kings power, and made his Majeſtie appeare ſo in the ſight of his enemies? If this were true, then would the Pope and the King of *Spaine* give many millions that the like were in *England* and *Ireland*: they need not diſſemble, we know where it pricks them, they ſee the hand of *God* in it againſt their unjuſt uſurpation and worldly pomp, and they feare, that as they have found it a wall of braſſe to the Subjects of *Scotland* againſt the fury of their malice, when they could have no protection, neither in their Laws, nor in their Prince, in whoſe ſaving favour they may claim ſpeciall intereſt, ſo it may prove by example dangerous to them elſwhere, and at once put an end to all theſe plots and deſignes they have to overthrow the reformed Religion: And this is the cauſe they charge it and us with many crimes, to plant the hatred of us and that cauſe in the hearts of others, which is already ingraven in theirs, but we are aſſured the equitie, juſtice, and wiſdome of your Court will be farre from thinking this a ſufficient ground of quarrell betwixt the two Nations, becauſe we demand to enjoy the benefit of our Laws, and the exerciſe of our Religion, if this be a cauſe that any of your Nation ſhould come to aſſaile us, or any part of the power of that Kingdome ſhould be imployed to that uſe, you would not have taken it in ill part or think we have done you wrong, if the like courſe had been taken by us when there were any conteſts and diſpute betwixt his

Majeſtie

Majeſtie and you in your Parliaments for the rights of the Subject: But as we have alwayes wiſhed you good ſucceſſe unto your Parliaments, ſo can we not think that the paines we have taken to maintain our own rights, can be grievances unto you, or of evill example to weaken your eſtate, or move you to deſtroy us. Princes when they are miſled by evill counſell, may eaſily begin warre at their pleaſure, but ſince the Subjects blood muſt determine the controverſie, it were neceſſary that they who have ſo great a part of the hazard, ſhould alſo know their quarrel. And ſince civill warre and homebred diviſion's as inward diſeaſes are more hard to cure then theſe that are without; we are tyed in all reſpects to ſeek to prevent them before thy come. And wherin by all that hath paſſed, we may perceive that theſe who are chief actors in theſe troubles, ſeek by all means to have us engaged, the more ſhould our care be to preſerve our ſelves by their diſappointment, and by a ſeaſonable remedy, provide for the ſafety of our ſelves and poſterity. The readieſt meane for the preſent that can come in our conſideration in this, that as when the treatie of the Union was intended, but did not take effect, the two Parliaments did ſit, and did appoint their Commiſſioners to treat thereanent (with expreſſe reſervation of their own Lawes and Liberties) and to report their proceedings back againe to them that ſent them, ſo now when the two Nations are ready to be plunged in a bloudy warre, to the overthrow of the Liberties of both. Our ſoules deſires, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to appoint the like or any other meane whereby the Parliaments may ſit freely, and without feare of force, and by their Commiſſioners appoint time and place, where by their ſcanning the equity or inquity of our demands may be fully weighed, that we may no longer ſuffer by falſe and artificiall relations, but they be noturly known as they are, and their fraud and hypocriſie diſcovered (if there be any) for we ſhunne no tryall which is not inconſiſtent with a free and independent Kingdome, and which the Kingdome of *England* would chooſe in the like caſe of the quarreling of their Laws and *liberties*, the King being reſident amongſt us: for which end if his Majeſties *forces* may be diſcharged, and his further Levies ſuſpended, we will moſt gladly disband, and leave off any that we are preparing for our own *neceſſary* and *juſt defence*, which otherwiſe we cannot doe without our own apparent ruine, neither can the Parliament ſit with any *ſecurity* in either Kingdome, if they ſee a Sword drawn over

their heads, and this we kow the *Parliament* of *England* in their wisdome will think very reasonable, and the least that can be granted, and will joyne with us in this *petition* for their own clearing before *God* and the world, that they have not taken in hand to subdue us by armes, before they have convinced us, and made known to all true Christians and honest men, for what cause, and upon how great reason.

If this be denyed us, as what may we not expect in this kind, but that the conduct of this affaire will be answerable to the first undertaking: And as this plot hath been set on foot for the benefit of strangers, so it will be continued to the weakning of both the Kingdomes the overthrow of our Religion, and civill liberties, to the uttermost of their power. So we (that the close of this discourse may bring in a short view all that hath been touched before) cannot but begin with this, that it is just with *God* to make us feel the sad effects of civill discord, who have not made the right use of our long enjoyed *peace*, and that we suffer in the danger and hazard of the cure, who have so long by our tollerance and permission strengthned that ill humour, which is now ready to master the life both of Kirk and State. You are called together who are the great Physitians of that State, it is not unfitting for the present occasion to put you in minde of an old tale that belongeth unto your Art: *Philotimus* a Physician in *Greece*, made this answer to one who offered his finger to dresse, by whose face, look and breath, he knew he had an Impostume in his Lungs, *my friend* (saith he) *it is not fit time to busie your selfe about your nailes*: The time was not long since when the greatest question was, whether the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, or the Bill of the Subjects right should be first moved in your House; the times are farre *changed*, the case much *altered*, before you judge of any matters now, or condemn others, you cannot but look whether your selves be free, and what right you have: For if the maintenance of our Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdome, be a ground of a quarrell betwixt too Nations that are so nearly joyned, and if it be judged so in that Honourable Court, we cannot see how you can condemn us and acquit your selves; For it was your glory to be the faithfull guardians of the Subjects right, it cannot but blemish your *reputation* to be found now the overthrowers of your Brethrens *liberties*. If all this motion of a warre with *Scotland* were truly perceived to be a conception of *Spain* or *Rome*, we do not doubt but for your

own

own interest you would be carefull to strangle this monster in the very first birth; but if you take it for a ready meane to ease your own distressed estate, and that by wronging us you can better your condition. And although we know the conduct of your Councels had ever more honourable and honest grounds, yet let us take it as it may be propounded to you: can the benefit that is offered to you countervail your losse? We need not bring it nearer, the example is but of yesterdy, and cannot be out of your sight. All the Provinces and Princes of *France*, envyed the good estate of the Protestants, the priviledges of their Chambers, and the benefit of the Edicts they enjoyed, every one did outrunne another to contribute to their ruine, and to endeer themselves by so doing, to these that had the managing of all these affaires; with what successe, they know this day, and all that looks upon them, seeth what defence they have left themselves against the regiments of the guards. We writ not this as doubting your wisdome and circumspection in a businesse of this nature, that so neare concerns your selves, but since the malice of our adversaries hath prevailed so farre upon our gracious King, that he forgets the *affliction* of his *people*, whiles he gives way unto their endlesse malice, who seeks by all meanes to cut asunder that knot of our obedience, whereby we are tyed in Conscience of our duty to his Majesty, to the observance of the Laws: and which is the sure Foundation of his Majesties greatnesse, and the Union of the Kingdomes, and which hath holden fast-against all the violence of time in so many ages past, and against the force of all adversaries whatsoever to the Royall Crown, the which the more we labour to preserve, and fence, the more they seek to undoe, and to put in the place therof a chaine of violence and force.

We beseech you therefore, right honourable and dear Brethren, now conveened in both houses of *Parliament*, that according to your place and station, you will heare from our selves the true representation of our pressing grievances, and because a linke of that chain cannot but approach you also, if it take hold on us: we intreat you to divert in time our gracious King from runing headlong unto these violent courses, which cannot but produce in the end lamentable effects both for Prince and People. And since we have just cause of *feare*, that what hath been begun without your consent, will also be followed contrary to your advise, although we think nothing more properly doth belong unto to the justice of that high Court then

to

to provide, that they who have been drawers of his Majesty to this action, so dangerous for himself, and so desperate for the Kingdomes should not passe away unquestioned and unpunished. And nothing could be further from our expectation then that the Councel of *England* should conclude a warre against us, upon the relation of one man (brought upon the stage of purpose to act that malicious part) without your consent: wherby it is apparent, that these our adversaries have come to that height of insolencie, to let all the Subjects see that they have taken to themselves a liberty to throw down the Laws of the Kingdome, and laid a necessity upon us his Majesties own people, as it were to choose their leasure and attend untill they have power, and come and worke our overthrow by Sea and Land, and that without a warning going before: So now we understand that a restraint is put upon our Commissioners; Some of them being put in the hands of Sheriffes, some of Justices of peace at *London*, Contrary to our expectation, for who expecting this would either have send or gone in that Commission: Contrary to the Law of Nations, for we are two diverse Nations and Kingdomes, and they were sent from a Parliament promised and called by his Majesty, and warranted by his Majesty, to repaire to his presence, and to shew the reasons of our demands. Contrary to the very foundation of our present Treaty, for a Committee was appointed legally by the authority of the Parliament, and necessarily, for keeping correspondence with our Commissioners, and to receive from them his Majesties answers (that we wonder any man should be so absurd as to suggest to his Majesty, that it is an unlawfull or presumptuous Committee, or that they have taken upon them the government of the Town of *Edinburgh*) And that for a long time past, no word or writ commeth from them, and we are put out of hope to heare from them hereafter; That we can neither know whether there was any want in their propositions and reasons, or whether there was anything to be supplyed by us for a full satisfaction, and contrary to the deservings of our Commissioners: for nothing is pretended to have escaped them which might have deserved this captivitie: And as for the present condition of safetie of the Earle of *Southesk*, and Sir *Lewes Stewart* at *Edinburgh*, it can be no true ground there of, his Majesty being fully informed by their own Letters, how that harmlesse accident of their surprizall came on a suddain by the unexpected follie and rash-

ſeſſe of the Governour of the Caſtle; threatning preſently upon their diſpatch, to diſcharge all his Ordinance againſt the Town: And to ring (as he was pleaſed to ſpeak) an uncouth peale of bells in their eares, and (we may truly adde) by their own precipitation, and too great haſte to ſpeed themſelves to the Ports for eſcaping the common danger: The multitude not without their own grounds, conceived that the arreſting of them might be a defence to themſelves, or at leaſt a delay of the Governours furie. But no ſooner were they arreſted by the People, but they were reſcued by order from the Magiſtrate, and courteouſly uſed by ſuch of the Nobilitie and Gentrie as were in the Town. Since that time no violence hath been done againſt them, but they have of their own accord, and for their own ſafetie ſtayed in the Town, with ſuch libertie as they think meet to uſe to repair to the Streets, Kirk, Gardens, or whither they will. And in what equity can a particular tumult of ſome few Commons in one City, reflex upon the perſons of the Commiſſioners ſent from the whole Parliament of the whole Nation.

But at the writing hereof we are advertiſed, that the matter draweth a greater deep, and that the Lord *Lowdoun* is committed to the Towre, not upon the ſhallow pretext of ſafety to any arreſted here, but upon his own guiltines, his hand and ſubſcription being found at a Letter directed to the French King from certain Earles and Lords of *Scotland*, for imploring his aſſiſtance to their courſes: This by our adverſaries and ſuch as had decreed our deſtruction before, is already exaggerat and raiſed to a mountaine, not onely to fall upon the Lord *Lowdoun* and others whoſe hands are found in it, but that all former friends and all indifferent perſons may ſtumble at our Cauſe, as hereby evidenced to be nothing leſſe forſooth then Religion: But the Honourable Houſes of Parliament, who are acquainted with the deſignes and malice of our enemies, and to whom our innocencie in times paſt cannot altogether be unknown, are more grave and wiſe then upon the hearing or ſeeing of ſuch a Letter, to precipitate in judgement againſt us and our Nation before we be heard. For their ſatisfaction, and for vindicating our ſelves, we are conſtrained againſt our hearts in this our Remonſtrance, to remember and repreſent the words of that unexempled Proclamation given at *York* April 25. 1639. otherwiſe never to have been reſented, but buried in ſilence, and in ſtudied *Senſeleſnes*, and which we doe

not

not attribute to the Majesty of our King, but to the base cruelty of our barbarous enemies. The words are thus:

We are forced to have recourse to a more sharp and quick way to cure their obstinacy and rebellion by the sword of justice: And therfore in that case we do proclaime all such as shall reject this our free and gratious pardon, and does not return before the said eight dayes, to that civill and dutifull obedience to be from thenceforth open Rebels and Traitours to us, our Crown and dignity, and declare all their lands and possessions, goods and geir to be forfeited to us, and our Crown, and that we shall dispose of their lands, possessions, goods and geir to our wel deserving Subjects, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others who shal adhere to us, & obey our just commands. And to this purpose we discharge all vassals and tennants to any rebels, from making payment to them of any of their rents, duties, or casualties, and require them to keep the same in their hands, the one half whereof shall be kept for our use, the other halfe for themselves: promising also to the tennants of the said rebels, who shall leave their Masters, and assist us to the maintenance of our authority, good tearms of yeares in the estates they possesse, with the diminution of the third at least, if not more, of the duties they pay, as we shall find them to deserve by their good service and ready obedience to us: And to the vassals of such superiours as are rebels, that they shall become our immediate tennants and vassals, and hold their lands and possessions of us, and that for payment of the third part lesse duty then is contained in their present Charters, and they presently pay to their superiour, providing they adhere to us, and assist not their disloyall superiours, but leave them, and concurre with us for maintenance of our authority And if the superiour be loyall, and the vassals and tennants refuse this our Grace, and to adhere to us, or to concurre with the said superiour in our service, we declare it shall be leasume for the said superiour to expell the said vassals and tennants thus rebellious, forth of their lands and possessions. And what shall accesse to us by the forfeiture of their lands and possessions, we freely dispone and totally resigne it to the loyall superiour, promising to concurre and assist him for effectuating hereof. And further we discharge all debtors who are addebted summes of money to any of the said rebels, to make payment to them of the summes of money addebted to them, or any part thereof: assuring our good Subjects, that they shall have retribution out of the same moneyes as we shall find them to deserve: and so forth as followeth.

Although before this time we had heard from our Countrey-men abroad, that other States, Princes and Nations did wonder much that their ears being filled with Informations against us, nothing had come from us to make known unto them

them our cauſe, or our caſe and condition: yet ſtill hoping and patiently waiting for a gracious anſwer to our many humble *ſupplications*, we did abſtaine. But our hopes being extingiſhed by that unexpected *Declaration*, as we took our Swords in our hands at home for our juſt *defence*, ſo we were thinking to ſend ſome *Informations* and *Petitions* abroad, eſpecially to the French King, wherein, we truſt, no word hath eſcaped us, that can either procure the indignation of our owne King, or will be found contrary to the duty and loyalty of good Subjects. And that no leſſe could have been ſaid by any Nation, in ſo great extreamity: yet this was but an imperfect motion, which died in the bud amongſt our ſelves, and never did riſe to that ripeneſſe to be ſeen of others. When we were ſo ſore threatned, and when *execution* was comming upon us by a terrible armie, it muſt be laid to our charge as a fault inexpiable, and our Commiſſioners puniſhed for it, that we dared ſo much as to intend to cry to others to *intercede* for us, when our own *ſupplications* could not be heard: Poore ſouls, we muſt be *beaten*, and neither *reſiſt*, nor *complaine*: It is therfore our earneſt deſire that every eye that ſeeth that innocent Letter, may with the ſame view look upon the Proclamation given out at that time, and compare them together: And withall, we deſire to be informed what we ſhall doe in the like exigence now when Armies are coming againſt us, if it be not lawfull for us both to cry to *God* and to men to help us, and to *intercede* with our King for us. That Letter was written before his Majeſties coming to the Camp, and was not concealed by our Noblemen, but made known to ſome of prime quality there: If there had been a purpoſe in the hearts of our enemies, that the Articles of *pacification* ſhould have been obſerved, this Letter, although it had been ſent and all other quarrels of this kind, had been by a law of oblivion forbidden to appear. It could not have been a ground of calling the ſubcribers to quarrell them after the *pacification*, but the wicked Sycophant and delatour would have been found in the tranſgreſſion, and made the ſacrifice. And that there be no more doubt in the minde of any good man, we have here, upon our *faith* and *honour*, ſet down the very words of our *inſtructions* ſubſcribed at that time, and yet extant, which were not given, but were to be given to the Carrier, and unto the which the Letter it ſelf doth referre:

To repreſent the auncient, and ſtrait league betwixt the two Kingdomes of France, *and* Scotland, *often renewed, and ever inviolably*

kept, for many hundreth of yeares, whereby both Nations, have frequently upon the distresse of the one found the benefit of that mutuall amity, by ready succour and assistance of the other, which hath ever been crowned with successe, and acknowledged by interchange of Nationall kindnesse as the Chronicles of both Kingdomes, and diverse publick acts extans in the Records doe testifie.

To shew that our intentions are no wayes against Monarchiall government, but that we are most loyally disposed toward our sacred Soveraigne, whose person and authority we will maintain with our lives and fortunes: But that all our desires reaches no further then the preservation of our Religion, and Liberty of Church and Kingdome, established by the Laws and Constitutions therof.

That the calumnies vented against us by our enemies for their own ends make no impression, because they are most manifest untruths, maliciously forged to stirre the envy and discontentment of neighbour Princes, Estates and Nations against us: whereas our whole thoughts, words, actions and proceedings are most legall and loyall, as the bearer can particularly instruct and make cleare at length.

That seeing we have many times supplicat his Majesty, and have not prevailed, therfore to intreat the King of France, to intercede and meditate with our Soveraigne, to lay down his Armies, intended and raised against us, and to suffer this his ancient and native Kingdome to enjoy her Religion, and Liberties, in peace and freedome under his Majesties authority, albeit we be not diffident of Gods assistance whensoever we shall be necessitate to our own defence, which is approven both by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations.

Our enemies, who catch all pretexts against us, may have enough here wherewith to please themselves. But when that grave and great Councell shall consider that the Letter was never sent, and nothing from *France* or at home shall ever be found that can prove the sending of it abroad, that it was intended upon the hearing of so harsh a Proclamation, and before the *pacification*, wherein it ought to have been buried, and that it was accompanied with such Instructions, as none but malice it selfe can censure: for no threats from *England*, nor preparations in view, can cast us upon resolutions of intertaining forraigne confœderations, in such sort as may set up a partition wall betwixt the two Kingdomes; Therfore we trust they shall finde no more ground of pleasing our enemies, and of grieving us in this, then in our other proceedings, which we earnestly desire to be unpartially examined by them.

Now

Now againſt this high and extreame inſolencie of our adverſaries, which ſwelleth every day to a greater bigneſſe and exulceration, and is to breake out imperiouſly at their pleaſure. Although in obedience to the Law of *God* and nature, we be thinking upon our preparations for ſafety and defence, and for obtaining our often preſented humble and juſt deſires, yet nothing but extreame neceſſity which hath no Law, ſhall enforce us to go beyond the bounds of *petition* and *defence*, and when that extreamities ſhall come (which *God* in his mercy to both Kingdomes prevent) we truſt our carriage ſhall refute the ſlanders and reproaches of our enemies: that we are not ſeeking our ſelves and our own ends: but with the aſſiſtance of all in *England*, who tender their own *happineſſe* and ours, to *petition* his Majeſty the more powerfully, for receiving right *information*, and for ſubmitting both all differences, and all thoſe wicked Counſellors, who have ſhaken the foundations of the Kirk, State, and the Kings Throne, unto the judgement and cenſure of a free Parliament, by which we hope the Goſpell of *Chriſt* ſhall be inlarged, both the Kingdomes freed from danger, and our dread Soveraigne made more great and glorious, then any of his Predeceſſors, which, as it is the end, ſo it is the unfeigned Prayers of us all.

FINIS.

London, Printed for

FINIS.

7

THE DISSOLUTION Of The PARLIAMENT IN SCOTLAND

Novemb. 19. 1641.

After a ſweet Sympathy, and agreement betwixt the KING and his Subiects, in the ſetling of all Affaires, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Civill, in that Kirke and Kingdome.

With an Act of Parliament ordaining the whole ſubiects and Lieges of that Kingdome to obey, maintaine, and defend the concluſions, Acts and Conſtitutions of this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and to ſubſcribe the band appointed for that effect.

Wherein is declared the illegall practices of *Iohn*, Earle of *Traquair*, by breaking up their former Parliament, Anno, 1639. ere any thing was accompliſhed.

Together with a true Copy of the Band, as it was ſubſcribed by the Noble-men, Barons, Burgeſſes, and others of this laſt Parliament, in Juſtification thereof.

London, Printed for John Wright. 1641.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND

London, Printed for John Wright. 1644.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LAST PARLIAMENT

Novemb. 19. 1641.

In the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, the eleventh day of *June*, 1640 yeares the Estates of Parliament Presently conveened, by his Majesties speciall authority, Considering that whereas, after many petitions and supplycations given in and presently to his Majestie, and the Lords of his secret councell, by divers of the Nobility, Barrons, and Burgesses of this Kingdome, for granting a free Generall Assembly, and Parliament, for reforming of many great abuses, and novations, tending to the overthrow of the true reformed Religion, and undoing of this Kirk, and Kingdom devised and brought in by the late pretended Bishops, who by their subtile practises, during his Majesties absence, thir many years, had ingrosst in their persons all the Ecclesiastick, and civill power of this his Majesties ancient and native Kingdome, it was granted by his Majestie, out of his Royall Justice, and accorded by the Articles of pacification made at his Majesties Camp in the moneth of

of Jun. 1639 yeares, last past, that a free generall assembly, and Parliament, should be indicted by his Majesty, and that all matters Ecclesiasticall should bee determined by the assemblies of the Kirke: and matters civill, by Parliaments, and other inferiour Iudicatories, establisht by Law, and that according thereunto, his Majestie did indict an Assembly to be held at *Edinburgh*, the twelfth of *August*, and a Parliament for ratifying the Conclusions of the same Assembly, and setting downe such other things, as might conduce to the peace and good of the Kingdome, To be holden at *Edinburgh* the twenty sixt of August last by-past: in the which assembly, the matters concerning the purity of the true reformed Religion, and peace of this Kirke, after great debaite, delayes, and protracting of time, made by *Iohn*, Earle of *Traquair* his Majesties Commissioner, being at length concluded upon, the day of *August*, 1639 yeares, The Parliament sitting downe immediately thereafter, upon the penult day of the said month of *August* the ratifications of the Conclusions of the same assembly and many other matters of great importance, conducing necessarly to the setling of the peace, of this Kingdome, being proponed in Parliament, were like wayes shifted and delayed, and the closing of the Parliament, protracted from time to time, unto the day of *November*, last bypast: at the which time, the said *Iohn* Earle of *Traquaire* did take upon him without the consent of the Estates, to prorogat the foresaid Parliament to the second day of *Iune* instant, not onely contrary to the Articles of pacification, but also to the prejudice of the Liberties of the Parliament, for preservation whereof, the said Estates were forced to make a declaration in Parliament against the same: And that albeit since the said day of *November*, unto this time, the said Estates have vsed all possible meanes to give his Majesty full satisfaction both by their peaceable carriage at home, and by sending their Commissioners, to acquaint his Majesty with all their just desires, and the reasons thereof, yet they have not onely received no answer, but upon the contrary have bin condemned as Rebellious, without hearing: and our Commissioners, sent for cleering thereof, all restrained in private houses for a long time, and *Iohn* Lord *Lowdoun*, being one of them, committed to the Tower, where he is still detained prisoner.

The

The Castles of *Edenburgh*, and *Dumbertane* have in meane time beene fortified and provided with all sort of Ammunition, in great abundance, and Garisons of Souldiers, (not being natives of this Kingdome) put therein; the Garison in the Castle of *Edenburgh*, daily killing diverse of the inhabitants of this City, and spoyling their houses with Musquets and great Ordinance, all ships belonging to this Kingdome arrested in *England*, and *Ireland*, and many of them comming from other places, layed wait for, and taken by the way, their owners and passengers spoyled of their goods, and apparell, layed in the yrons, and barbarously abused: A Commission granted to the Generall of the English forces by sea and land, to kill, destroy, and subdue this whole nation, a Printed Declaration put forth, denouncing warre against it, perswading, exhorting, and provoking the other two Kingdomes to grant subsidies, and take Armes against the inhabitants of this Kingdome as traitours and rebels: And the Parliament of *Ireland* hath proceeded so farre as to declare them to be such: All which they have hitherto endured patiently, and thereby given an evident demonstration to the world of the loyalty of their affections to their Soveraigne, which no extremity shall ever make them to forget: And now being prest by the present exigence of the Estate of this Kingdome, and bound by the necessity of that naturall duety they ought to themselves and their posterity, to provide for the safety of the Common-wealth, and their owne, and timously to prevent the utter ruine of this Nation, which can no longer subsist under so great a burden, that time appointed being come, to the which the Parliament was prorogat, and no advertisement come from his Majesty to them anent any course to be taken, for redeeming of the great disorders, they being the great Councell of the Kingdome could not be altogether so forgetfull of themselves, and deciident to their Country, as to suffer this Parliament which they had so often petitioned from his Majesty, which was conditioned and accorded by the said Articles of Pacification, and inflicted by his Majesties Authority, to be deserted and expyred without any conclusion to the good of the Common-wealth in so great extremity: But rather thought themselves bound in conscience and duty to proceed to the determination of such matters as are necessary for the establishing of

the peace of this Kirk and Kingdome, as being the expresse and speciall ends of all their Supplications, and agreeable to the saide Articles of Pacification, without trinching any wayes on Soveraignitie, or derogating in any sort from his Majesties Royall Authority, but on the contrary, onely looking first upon the constitutions of the generall Assembly, put in presence of his Majesties Commissioner, and the necessar consequences thereof, and then providing remedies for the present evils of the Kingdome, by removing the cause, and establishing necessar conclusions for preventing the like hereafter: In doing whereof as they have proceeded uprightly in the way of Justice, and with due reverence, and regard to his Majesties Authority, and thereby have stopped the calumnious mouthes of their adversaries, so they rest assured, that his Majesty after due examination of their proceedings; finding the same agreeable to the fundamentall lawes and customes of this his ancient and native Kingdome, and no wayes repugnant to Monarchiall goverment, will out of his Royall Justice and goodnesse give his full consent thereunto; And thereby totally removing and extinguishing all ground and occasion of contraversie against his faithfull and loyall Subjects, restore this Kingdome to a perfect and solide peace, which they pray the Lord put in his Majesties Royall Heart, that he may long and prosperously reigne over them. And on the other part, considering from bygone experience how malicious and diligent their adversaries will be to calumniat these their proceedings, and by their suggestions to the Kings Majesty, and to the Lieges, to kindle and intertaine factions and divisions thereanent, and how necessar it is for the safety and peace of this Kirk and Kingdome, that the Members of both doe unanimously with hart and hand testifie by their subscription their resolution, and Obligation to acknowledge this Parliament so often desired by their petitions and supplications, and convocated by his Majesties solemne indiction, according to the Articles of Pacification, to be a free, lawfull, and necessary Parliament, and to obey, observe, and maintaine the same for themselves constantly and faithfully, and to the uttermost of their power, to joyne and concurre, in their severall stations and callings, with others, to advance, further, and assist the execution, obedience, and observing of the Acts and constitutions of this pre-

sent

ſent Parliament, as the moſt fit and neceſſary remedies of the bygone and preſent evils and diſtractions of this Kirk and Kingdome, and for preſervation of the Religion, lawes and liberties thereof, and of his Majeſties Authority, and that in the firſt Parliament which ſhall be holden hereafter within this Kingdome, and at all other occaſions, againſt any oppoſition whatſoever, except in ſo farre as ſhall hereafter be thought fit and expedient by the common advyſe and conſent of the Eſtates: They have ordained and ordaines the Band under-written, to be ſubſcribed by all the Members of Parliament preſent and abſent, and by Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, and all other Subjects and inhabitants of the Kingdome, in their Shyres, and Burghs, as they ſhall be directed by the Commiſſioners of Parliament left at *Edinburgh*, and to be reported to the Clerke, betwixt and the firſt day of *September* nixt, with certification, that ſuch as refuſe or poſt-pone, and delay to ſubſcribe to ſame, ſhall be holden as Enemies and Oppoſits to the common Cauſe, conſiſting in the maintenance of the true reformed Religion, and of the lawes, and liberties of this Kingdome, and his Majeſties Authority.

VVEe Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, and others, under-ſubſcribers, conſidering how neceſſary it is to eſtabliſh our Union in the preſervation, and maintenance of the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of this Kingdome, and of his Majeſties Authority, and to prevent all factions, contentions, and diviſions, which may ariſe in prejudice thereof, from malicious ſuggeſtions and miſ-informations of our adverſaries, doe all, and every one of us with our heart and hand teſtifie and declare our Reſolution and Obligation, (for the reaſons and cauſes at length expreſt in the Act of Parliament immediatly preceeding) to acknowledge the aforeſaid Parliament to have beene and to be a free and lawfull Parliament, Likewiſe wee bind and oblish us, and every one of us upon our honours and credit, and as we deſire to be, and to be holden true lovers of our Countrey, and of the Religion, lawes, and liberties thereof effauldly and faithfully to the uttermoſt of our power, to joyne and concurre with our perſons and eſtates every one of us according to our ſeveral ſtations & callings, in the maintenance of the freedome and lawfulneſſe of the aforeſaid

Par-

Parliament, and in the advancement, furtherance, and all meanes of the execution, obedience, and observation of the Acts and constitutions thereof, as the most fit and necessary remedies of the bygone and present evils and distractions of this Kirk and Kingdome, and for the preservation of Religion, lawes, and liberties thereof, and of his Majesties Authority, and that in the first Parliament, which shall be holden hereafter within this Kingdome, and at all other occasions, and against any opposition whatsoever, except in so far as shall be hereafter thought fit and expedient by the common advise and consent of the Estates: In witnesse whereof we have signed and subscribed these presents with our hands, &c, &c.

FINIS.

C

Whi

Iuth

A new

PLAY

Called

CANTERBURIE

His

Change of Diot.

K Laud app

Which ſheweth variety of wit and mirth: privately acted neare the *Palace-yard* at Weſtminſter.

4th
1 Act, the Biſhop of Canterbury having variety of dainties, is not ſatisfied till he be fed with tippets of mens eares.
2 Act, he hath his noſe held to the Grinde-ſtone.
3 Act, he is put into a birdCage with the Confeſſor.
4 Act, The Jeſter tells the King the Story.

Printed Anno Domini, 1641.

A new

PLAY

Called

CANTERBURIE

His

Change of Dios,

Which sheweth variety of wit and mirth: privately, Reduced to the *Palace-yard* at Westminster.

Lath
1 Act, the Bishop of Canterbury having variety of drinks, is not satisfied till he be fed with tippers of mens-ones,
2 Act, he hath his nose held to the Grinde-stone.
3 Act, he is put into a birdcage with the Comissor.
4 Act, The Jester tells the King the Story.

Printed Anno Domini, 1641.

THE FIRST ACT.

Enter the Bishop of Canterbury, and with him a Doctor of Physicke, a Lawyer, and a Divine; who being set downe, they bring him variety of Dishes to his Table.

C*Anterbury*, is here all the dishes, that are provided?

Doct. My Lord there is all: and 'tis enough, were for a Princes table, Ther's 24. severall dainty dishes, and all rare.

B. Cant. Are these rare: no, no, they please me not,
Give me a Carbinadoed cheek, or a tippet of a Cocks combe:
None of all this, here is meate for my Pallet.

Lawyer. My Lord here is both Cocke and Phesant,
Quaile and Partridge, and the best varieties the shambles yeeld.

B. Cant. Shambles, I am not tyed to ſuch a ſtraine,
Give not me common things, that are in the ſhambles;
Let me have of the rareſt dainties, dreſt after the Italian faſhion.
Divine. My Lord, here are nothing but rarities;
pleaſe you to give me leave to crave a bleſſing,
That your Lordſhip may fall too and eate,
My Lord, is it your pleaſure I ſhall.
B. Cant. you vexe me, *He knocking there enter divers Biſhops with muskets on their necks, bandeleeres, and ſwords by their ſides.*
Ho, ho, come away,
Theſe Raſcals torment me.
Biſhop. What is the matter, my Lord: wherefore doe you call us.
Cant. call you quoth I:
It is time to call I thinke, when I am faine to waite:
Nay call and aske, yet cannot have what I deſire.
Biſhop. What would you have my Lord?
Cant. Them fellowes, bring them to me.
Doct. What will your Lordſhip doe with me. *The Doctor is brought to him.*
Cant Onely cut off your eares.
Doct. That would be an unchriſtian action, a practice without a precedent,
O cruelty, tyranny! Hold me, hold me, or elſe I dye; *He cuts off his eares.*
Heavens ſupport me under this tyrant.
Cant. Come Lawyer, your two eares will make me a *He cuts off the Lawyers eares.*
That is almoſt a little diſh for rarity.
Divine. Will your Lordſhip be ſo cruell. *Then he cuts off the Divines eares.*
Our bloud will be requir'd at your hands.
Cant. This I doe, to make you examples,
That others may be more carefull to pleaſe my palate.
Henceforth, let my ſervants know: that what I will, I will have done,
What ere is under heavens Sunne.

He ſends them all away, and commands the eares to be dreſt for his ſupper, and after a low courteſie, followes himſelfe.

Exeunt.

The

Enter the Biſhop of Canterbury *into a* Carpenters *yard by the water ſide, where he is going to take water, and ſeeing a Grindle-ſtone, draweth his knife, and goeth thither to whet it, and the* Carpenter *followes him.*

Carpinter. What mkes your Grace here, my Lord.

Cant. My knife is ſomething dull friend:
Therefore *I* make bold to ſharpen it here,
Becauſe an opportunity is here ſo ready,

Carp. Excuſe me, Sir, you ſhall not doe it:
What reaſon have you to ſharpen your knife on my ſtone:
youl ſerve me, as you did the other three-? No, ſtay!
*I*le make you free of the Grinde-ſtone, before you goe away.

He tyes his noſe to the Grindle-ſtone

Cant. Oh man what doe you meane.

Carpen. Hold downe your head, it will blood you bravely;
By the bruſhing of your noſtrils, you ſhall know what the paring of an eare is,
Turne Boy, *The* Carpenters *boy turnes the ſtone, and grinds his noſe.*

Cant. O hold, hold, hold.
Turne, qd. *I*, here is turning indeed, ſuch turning will ſoon deform my face:
O *I* bleed, *I* bleed, and am extreamly ſore.

Carp. But who regarded hold before, remember the cruelty you have uſed to others, whoſe blood cryes out for vengeance.
Were not their eares to them, as precious as your noſtrils can be to you?
If ſuch diſhes muſt be your fare, let me be your Cooke,
*I*le invent you rare ſippets.

Exeunt.

Iesuit. Right Reverend Sir,
What makes your Grace
In such a sad condition?

Enter a Iesuit, a Confessor, and washeth his face with Holy water, and bindes up his sore in a cloth.

B. Cant. Tis sad indeed, time was, when all the land was swayed by me:
But I am now despised, bound fast, and scorned you see?
What shall *I* doe for ease.

Iesuit. I'le try conclusions for you;
I'le goe in to him, & to his wife; i'le wooe them both, i'le speak them faire,
I'le tell them things they never knew, & if *I* can, *I* will procure your liberty:
That so your Grace, may escape this danger.

B. Cant. There will be great difficulty in it?
What shall *I* do, my joyes are gone;
My face defaced, and all my comforts left.

Iesuit. Feare not, there is yet hope; comfort your selfe.
I have a force, may chance, make *Rome* to flourish:
That your gray haires, may once more sit in Glory,
Which *England* little dreames of.

The Carpenter tyes the Bishop, and leades him away.

The third Act.

Enter the Bishop of Canterbury, and the Iesuit in a great Bird Cage together, and a foole standing by, and laughing at them, Ha, ha, ha, who is the foole now.

Carpenters wife. O good husband, put in these *Cormorants* into this Cage;
They that have cut off eares at the first bout,
God knowes what they may cut off next: put them in, put them in.

Cant. What meine you by this, *He takes the Cage, and puts them into it.*

Carpenter. Onely to teach yon to sing.

Iesuite. Alas, we cannot sing, we are not Nightingales.

Carpen. wife. Come, come, husband;
Wee'll make them sing, before they come out againe:
A Black-bird, and a Canary-bird, will sing best together.

Cant. Why should they be so strict to us.

Iesuite. Yet if we still abide it; though we dye, we dye in honour,
Our merits we shall leave for others wants, *when we are gone.*

Carpen. Mirth quoth I:
If Tower-hill and *Tyburne* had their due,
We should have lesse Jesuites, and fewer Masse-priests?
There is many a man, that have merited a rope,
That have not yet met with an halter. *Exeunt.*

The fourth Act.

Enter the King and his Jester.

Iester. O my King ha, ha, ha, ha, ha; I cannot forbeare laughing.

King. Why what is the matter Sirrah?

Iester. O the strangest sight, that ever I saw.
They have put the Bishop of Canterbury, & the Counsellor into a Cage together,
Did you ever see the like,
The one lookes like a Crow, and the other like a Mag-pye:
I wayted long to heare them sing, and at last I did.

King. What note did they sing?

Iester. What note, I am sure it was 9 Notes and an halfe lower then they use to sing at Court.

King. What was the Song. *Iest.* One sing thus:

I would I was at Court againe for mee, Then the other answered,
I would I was at Rome againe with thee.

King. Well sirrah, you will never leave your flouts.

Iest. If *I* should, my Liege, *I* were not fit to be a Jester.

Exeunt.

The Gig betweene a *Paritor* and the *Foole*.

PAritor, *What newes sir, what newes, I pray you know you,*
Foole, *Correction doth waite sir, to catch up his due.*
Par. *His due sir, whats that, I pray you tell me,*
Foole, *not blew cap, nor red cap, but cap of the See,*
Par. *what caps are these pray you, shall I never know,*
Foole, *The caps that would us, and our Church overthrow,*
They both sing, *O wellady, wellady, what shall wee doe then.*
weel weare tippet foole caps, and never undoe men.

Paritor, *Did you never heare pray, of Lambeth great Faire,*
where white puddings were sold for two shillings a paire.
Foole, *Yes Sir I tell you I heard it and wept,*
I thinke you are broke e're since it was kept,
Par. *Broke I am not, you foole I ampoore.*
Foole, *your master is sicke you are turnd out of doore,*
They both sing, *O wellady, wellady, &c.*

Paritor, *I might have beene tester once as well as you,*
Foole, *you Iested too much, which now you doe rue,*
Par. *wherein have I jested, like a foole in place,*
Foole, *to worke projects for such, who practise disgrace,*
Par. *you foole will not profit make any thing done,*
Foole, *such profit make fooles, soone after to runne,*
Both together, *O wellady, wellady, &c.*

FINIS.

JOYFULL NEWS FROM IRELAND,

BEING A RELATION OF a Battell which was fought between the *Proteſtants*, and the *Rebels* of IRELAND, where the Proteſtants got the victory, giving the Rebels a great overthrow.

Alſo how the Earle of *Mackquire* was taken priſoner.

Alſo the Copy of a Proclamation ſet forth by the *Rebels*.

With the warrantable and true diſcovery of the laſt Plot in IRELAND.

LONDON:
Printed for *John Greenſmith*. 1641.

JOYFULL NEWS

FROM

IRELAND,

BEING A RELATION OF

a Battell which was fought between the *Protestants*, and the *Rebels* of IRELAND, where the Protestants got the victory, giving the Rebels a great overthrow.

Also how the Earle of *Mackquere* was taken prisoner.

Also the Copy of a Proclamation set forth by the *Rebels*.

With the warrantable and true discovery of the last Plot in IRELAND.

LONDON:
Printed for *John Greensmith*. 1641.

BRITISH MUSEUM

UPon the 30th. day of October, being *Saturday*, did certain of the Rebels in *Ireland* remove out of *Armagh* privately into the City of *Dublin*; but the day before a Proclamation was set forth by the chief of the Rebels to this effect.

The Proclamation set forth by the *Rebels*.

Patricke Oneale chief Commander of the Catholicke Forces in *Ireland*, doth publish and declare; That *Irish Catholicks* are a Nation not conquered, nor ought they to live under the Lawes, that of late have been enacted: they ought to have a free use of their Religion, without interruption, which they had now cause to fear would be restrained, if not utterly taken away: therefore we which are constant friends to the *Catholike faith*, proclaim to all our loving brethren, that it is high time to stir, since it is of so great a consequence, therefore all that wish well to the Catholike faith, let them now be, take them to their Armes, and come now, and assist us, who are now in the field to defend the

Religion with our Swords, which hath been eſtabliſhed in this kingdome by our worthy Anceſtors: and hereby we ſhall put honour upon our Religion, and make our names famous throwout the Chriſtian world; and if any of the Catholique Religion ſhall refuſe to aſſiſt us in this our juſt defence, let them know they will be kept under like ſlaves, and draw upon them a curſe from all the Catholiques in the world, and the curſe of us Prieſts, and Friers, and Souldiers. Given at the Councell held the 29th. of *Octob.* in the County of *Ulſter*.

Patricke Oneale.
Hugh Mac Mahon.
Father Patrick.
Frier Dennis.

31. of *Octob.*

Vpon the 31. of *Octob.* was a hard skirmish betweene the *Proteſtants* and *Rebels* of *Ireland*, the Rebels being two thouſand ſtrong, Proteſtants but a thouſand, but yet of the Rebels were ſlain five hundred, of the Proteſtants fourtie.

1. of *November*.

Vpon the firſt day of *November* the Earle of *Mackquire* with certain other Rebels were viewing of the cheefeſt Church in *Dublin*, where the Lord cheefe Juſtices and Privie Councell uſe upon Sabbath dayes to hear Sermons, certain Proteſtants diſcovered the Earle, and preſently

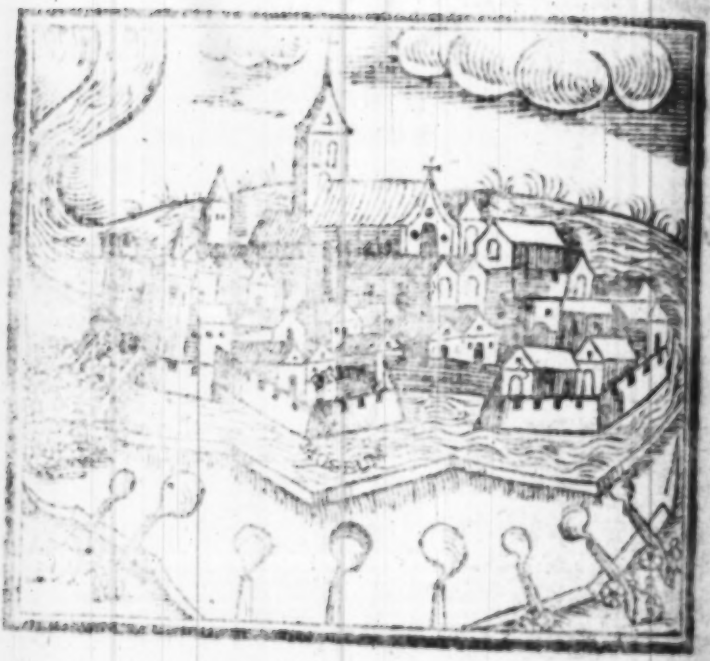
ſently got a ſtrong guard, and tooke him with the reſt which were with him, and in ſtead of making him (as he intended to be) Governour of *Dublin* Caſtle, they made him a Priſoner thereof, which is a great diſcomfort unto the Rebels, ſome already have runne away from their Commanders, and are fled out of the Country, and the reſt have very little courage to ſtand in Rebellion any longer.

The Diſcovery of the *Gun-powder-Plot*.

After that the Earle of *Mackquer* was taken priſoner, fearing leaſt any Trechery ſhould lye hidden in the Church, privy ſearch was made, but a long ſpace it was, before any thing could be diſcovered, at length they perceaved in a hollow Place, ſmoake aſcending up; anon they diſcovered a Fire, and an old man ſetting by it, as if hee were warming of his hands by it, which ſight did ſtrike the ſearchers into great amazement, they went very ſoftly, and the old man not hearing of them, they caught faſt hold of him, and binding of him faſt, they ſearched farther, and found out an Engine which was charged with two hundred Bullets, but being diſcharged, it would have burned out into a flame, which flame ſhould have fired the Barrels of Powder and faggots which were adjoyning

bdjoyning unto it, and the old man being faſt aound, did confeſſe unto them how that hee ſhould have diſcharged the Engine himſelfe, and ſhould have been deſtroyed with the reſt, but as many Heretickes as were blowne up in the Church, ſo many ſoules for his ſake ſhould have beene releaſed out of Purgatory, as the Prieſts, Jeſuits, and Fryers didpromiſe him; from whoſe ſubtle and bloody Plots, good Lord for ever defend us.

FINIS.



The last and best newes from IRELAND: Declaring

First the warlike and cruell proceeding of the Rebels who are all papists and Jesuits of that Kingdome.

Secondly, the entrance of some English and Scottish companies into the North-parts of *Ireland* under the command of these foure noblemen; the Lord *Grandison*, the Lord *Chichester*, the Lord *Conway*, the Lord *Cromwell*; also the late incounters which they have had with those Rebels.

Thirdly, how the Rebels would have fired and burnt up the City of *Dublin* with wild-fire: And likewise the taking of some Irish Lords and other Commaunders prisoners, both of horse and foot.

Fourthly, Divers letters from severall persons of good worth in *Ireland*, touching the cruell proceedings of the Rebells to this very day.

Fifthly, *Irelands* complaint, and *Englands* reliefe sent by the honorable house of parliament to ayde and assist their brethren; together with the names of those Commanders that are appointed for this Religious designe.

Sixtly, The proclamation made by the Lords and Justices of *Ireland*.

London Printed for *F. Coules*, and *T. Bates*. 1641.

The Coppy of a Letter sent from Dublin, *concerning the late proceedings of the Rebels in* Ireland.

SInce the last time I wrot unto you, there hath not beene any Towne taken by the Rebels, but *Dundalke*; yet there are and have bin divers Roberies done and committed in the Country; this day about ten of the clock there marched 1000. foot with compleat Armes, and part of two troopes of horse towards *Drogheda* with 4. fielde pieces; and we heare that the Scots in our North parts, are marching towards the Neury with 5000. foot well armed, and foure Troopes of horse, *viz.* The Lord *Grandisons*, the Lord *Chichesters*, the Lord *Conwayes*, and the Lord *Cromwels*, so that we hope we are here all safe, now the danger is past, the Army being on foot.

Dated at Dublin, Novem. 3. 1641.

A true Relation of the last proceedings in severall Provinces in the Kingdome of Ireland. 1641.

ON Saturday being the 6. of November, a party of the Rebels were discovered by my Lord *Grandison*, marching towards a Towne called *Grage*, with an intent to plunder it, but forces being sent under the command of my Lord *Grandison* intercepted their passage, being in Ambush in a wood called the Poal-Mounny, a dangerous and obscure passage through which they were discovered, and that my L. *Grandison* was too strong for them, upon which fight, the Rebels all run away, some over Bogs, others into the woods. Tuesday the 9. of November, there was a skirmish between a party of the Protestants forces, which gathered together in *Dungarvon*, who hearing of some of the Rebels that were met upon a Heath neare adjoyning, with intent to set upon some Village neare unto it, their forces issued out, and slew some 50. of them, putting the rest to flight. Many outrages are daily committed by the Rebels in severall places of the Kingdome, which I cannot fully relate as yet, only this, the troubles of this kingdom are great, the multitude of our enemies daily increase, and our forces are yet but small, God increase ours, and send us peace.

A Pro-

A Proclamation made by the Lords, Iuſtices, and Councell in the Caſtle of Dublin.

William Parſons, John Burlacy, Ad. Loftus, G. Shirley. L. Temple.

WHereas a Petition hath beene preferr'd unto Us by divers Lords and Gentlemen of the Engliſh Pale, in the behalfe of themſelves and the reſt of the Pale, and others of the old Engliſh of this Kingdome, ſhewing that whereas a a late conſpiracy of Treaſon is diſcovered of ill affected perſons of the old Iriſh, and that thereupon, a Proclamation was publiſhed by Us, wherein among other things it is declared that the ſayd conſpiracy was perpetuated by the old Iriſh Papiſts, without diſtinction of any, and they doubting by thoſe generall words of Iriſh Papiſts, they might ſeeme to be involved, though they declare themſelves confident, that did not intend to include them therein, in regard they are none of the old Iriſh, nor of their faction, or confederacy, but they are altogether averſe and oppoſite to all their deſignes, and all others of like condition: we do therefore, to give them full ſatisfaction, hereby declare and publiſh to all his Majeſties good ſubjects in this Kingdome, that by the words Iriſh Papiſts, we intended only ſuch of the old meere Iriſh, in the Province of *Vlſter*, as have plotted and contrived, and bin Actors in this conſpiracy, and others who adhere to them, and that we did not any way intend or meane thereby any of the old Engliſh of the Pale, nor of any other parts of this Kingdome, we being wel aſſured of their fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good affection and ſervice of their Anceſtors in former times of danger and Rebellion, and we further require all his Majeſties loving Subjects, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts, to forbeare upbraiding matter of Religion, one againſt the other, and that upon paine of his Majeſties indignation. Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, *November* 4, 1641.

A Letter ſent by the Lord chief Iuſtices of Ireland, *Novem.* 5.

THe calamity of the Engliſh & Iriſh Proteſtants in *Ireland* is great, and the miſchief that the Rebels have done, are many, and ſo much the more ought to be ſeverely Executed by reaſon of a proclamation which the Rebels have put out, commanding all thoſe that are Engliſh proteſtants to be gone away immediately after the publiſhing thereof, or otherwiſe to take what puniſhments the Rebels ſhall inflict upon them, as they do with all cruelty and inhumanity; they aſſaulted *Treda* and plundred the Town, committing many out-rages therein, as namely, they entred violently into a houſe of Dr. *Vſhers* there now L. primate of *Ireland*, and carried away 4000. l. in plate and money, but we hope ſhortly they will be ſuppreſſed.

A Wild-fire *Plot found out in* Ireland.

IF there were ever found deadly enemies to true Christian Religion, they are now found out in *Ireland*, that Mother of all treachery, and Nurse of Treason. For their inveterate malice is grown to the full perfection of disloyalty: and what they could not perfect in one nefarious Plot, they did now intend to performe in another. Their late pretended Gun-powder Plot is not unknown to all men, which they being frustrated of (having much Powder by that meanes ready by them) did make therewith many Balls of Wild-fire, with which they intended to burne the whole City of *Dublin* with a vast inflation. The number of all the *Rebels* are conceived to be for certainty about 30000. and their multitude increaseth daily: many of them lye in Caves of the Earth, some others are in *Dundalke*, which they tookethe 30. day of *October*, others are in the Countries of *Ulster*, *Canaugh* and *Cavia*, but especially in the Country of *Manahom* in great number: But not to wander from my intent, I will speake more largely of the Wild-fire, which they plotted very lately for the ruine of the whole Kingdome. About the dead time of *Thursday* night, being the 11. of *Nov.* 500. of them or thereabout, came out of the Caves in the Earth, with balls of Wild-fire in their hands, casting and tossing them over the City Walls of *Dublin*. There were five houses burnt downe thereby equall to the ground, and the fire tooke hold of many other houses, but (as it was Gods great mercy) they were suddainly quenched by the great labour of the people, and thankes be to Almighty God, no more hurt was done by them.

There was an *English* Merchant lived in one of those houses that were burnt, whose estate was supposed to be no lesse then 3500*l* and hee lost most of his Estate there. The rest were all Protestants, men of very good fashion and reputation: but by the reason of that calamity, were scarce worth any thing: all whose Estates wee doe much deplore, and commiserate. But there are a 1000. men doe guard the City day and night: who hearing of this combustion, did immediately march out of the Gates, and tooke three Lords, Lord *Casmahowne*, L. *Mackamaveire*, L. *Bohoune*, with about the number of fifty other *Rebels*, whom they committed all to the Castle, the other fled, and run about the fields and woods, and raised a great number of *Rebels* presently; who were about nine thousand the next day, and marched against

againſt the City: but the Lords and Juſtices, having ſome ſuſpition before thereof, did that very night ſend a Poſt to *Scotland*, and ſome *Engliſh* Colonels, who very lovingly did aſſiſt them. There came from *Scotland*, and the Northern parts of *England* 4000. Foot-men, and 400. Horſe-men, who did in ſome manner qualifie them. Sir *Francis Willoughby* Governour of the Caſtle, commanded 50. pieces of Ordinance to be brought out, which were diſcharged againſt the *Rebels*, he had 00. men under him. My Lord *Moore* came from *Broghedo* with 700. Foot-men. Sir *H. Inckbourne* with ten foot Companies in compleat Armes, Sir *Charles Coot* with 1000 foot. So that in all the number of the *Rebels* that were ſlaine, were about 3000. and 80. beſides many Armes, which the *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, and *Iriſh* Proteſtants did take from them.

The Rogues are very reſolute, for they put both man, woman and children to the Sword, whereſoever they meet them, without any diſtinction of Sexe with cruell Tyranny, But they very ſeldome appeare armed; ſo that ſometimes they are not knowne, and ſo under pretence of *Proteſtants*, they cut their throats; for they bury all their Armour in Caves in the Woods: wherefore all things are exceſſive deare in the City, neither can they ſcarce buy any thing for their mony, for the Country dare not venter to bring in any *Commodities to the City*, for feare the *Rebels* ſhould aſſault them, who lye in ambuſh almoſt every where thereabout. They dare not travell in the day, much leſſe in the night, for then the *Rebels* are moſt obvious, and doe range more frequently about. So that things of meere neceſſity can ſcarce bee had in the City to the great reliefe of the Inhabitants thereof.

O egregious treachery! or rather Treaſon to the King, and Kingdome! Theſe things would make a very *Democritus* to cry out in doleſull exclamations. But let thoſe that delight thus in ſuch fire, feare leaſt they fall into an everlaſting fire: and let them take heed, leſt a ſudden fire deſcend from Heaven and conſume them *precipitouſly*, like as the fiery Serpents did the *Iſraelites*.

The true Copie of a Letter ſent from Mr. Ioſeph Watſon *Merchant in Dublin, to Mr.* Waterhouſe *Citizen in London, dated November the* 4. 1641.

Mr. *Waterhouſe:*

AFter our loves remembred unto you, hoping of your good health, which the Lord in his mercie long continue: this is to certifie you concerning our condition. I doubt not, but you have heard of the Papiſts which are riſen in rebellion, but God did deliver our Citie from their bloudy device, elſe we had not a man of us beene alive this day. For they had intended to take the Caſtle, where all the ſtrength of the Kingdome was, and then they would have ruinated us, and all the Engliſh in the Kingdome, had not God miraculouſly delivered us. The diſcoverie was but at ten of the clock on Friday night, and the next morning they might have took the Caſtle, had not one in company revealed it to the Lords: and though we ſeeme to have beene delivered, yet wee are ſtill in great feare; for wee know not who are our enemies, and friends. Many enemies wee have amongſt us in the Citie, that ſhould have been the firſt that ſhould have cut our throats, as it hath beene in the Countrey, in one of the beſt plantations of the Engliſh, that is now in the Countie of *Manahom*, and *Cavin*, and other Counties. The whole Countie of *Manahom*, the Iriſh thereof are in rebellion, and many Engliſh are deſtroyed, and loſt their lives and all their meanes; ſome worth a thouſand pounds over night, and not a rag to cover them the next day. There is by relation five hundred people of them now in our Citie, all ſtripped of their cloaths: no difference betweene rich and poore, only the rich were worſe dealt with. Now our Lords have ſent out yeſterday an Army downe, and the Scots in the North parts are riſen to meet them. But it is thought the Scots have met with them ere this, and have driven them from one place; but there are a great number of them, but not a quarter of them armed men, but they have good ſtore of Armes: We hope the Lord will ſtay them. Many of them are taken, and more every day, but it will be a great while before they be ſuppreſſed: and our Souldiers many falſe, and ſtill wee every day and night watch them. There is above five hundred men in Armes watch our Citie every night, Houſholders and other men, are I may ſay a thouſand. Wee have in our out-Streets two hundred. They would have ſet our Towne on fire, for they are mainly inraged, and daily treacheries are found out, which is Gods great mercie to us. By this meanes wee have no trade in our Citie more than need requires, that is, for victuals, and candles, and ſuch like things, which men cannot be without; and wee can get in no debts, for men will

will pay no moneys. For my part, I shall bee a great loser by these times, for we are at a great charge, it is one mans work to watch, and there is great distraction. Thus with my love to your prayers, which I know are not wanting for us, I ever rest

Your loving friend, *Ioseph Watson.*

The Copie of another Letter sent to a worthy Divine in this Citie.

Worthy Sir,

AFter my best respects recommended unto you, I think it expedient to acquaint you of all affaires, that belong to our Irish businesse. My Lord *Moore* is in *Drogheda* with seven hundred Foot, and a Troop or two: some of my Lords children are already come hither, and we exp ct my Lady *Moore* and the rest of the children this nig t. My Lord hath sent hither severall Trunks, they are this day put into the Castle to be safely preserved. There is two hundred Souldiers in the Castle, victuilled for twelve months, and about fiftie Peeces of Ordnance mounted, to keep the Citie in awe. Sir *Francis Willoughby* is Governour, and Sir *Iohn Borlacie* lodgeth therein. The Iustices sit at Cork-house, to free the Castle from recourse of people thereto. This morning have marched toward *Drogheda*, ten Foot Companies in compleat Armes, under the command of Sir *Henry Tuckbourne*. *Dundalke* was taken on Sunday. And the Scots and some English have come upon the Rebels, and have restrained the *Newsie* from the Rebels, with the losse of a few men, eightie of the Rebels are slaine, and good store of Armes taken. The Scots and English from the North are 4000 Foot, and 400 Horse, and their Army encreaseth. There are in the Countie of *Cavan*, under the command of Sir *Charles Coot*, a thousand Foot. We are in good hopes that the Lords of the Pale wil prove true, for they are here offering their service daily. Great in number the Rebels are, and daily encreasing both in *Ulster* and *Connaught*. My Lord *Moores* Troops have lately taken about sixtie of the Rebels, and killed three or foure, and rescued seven score head of cattell from them. We doe not as yet heare of any rising in *Mounster*, or *Lemster*: so as we hope these broyles will cease, when the English Army as well as the Scots fall upon them. Thus hoping I have satisfied you herein, I commend you to God, and rest *Your loving friend*, H. L.

A Relation of all the proceedings of the Honorable House of Commons concerning the setling of the Commotions in Ireland.

THe House of *Commons* sate these three days past, being the 15. 16. 17. of *November*, till eight of the clock at night, ordring and providing for the security of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, appointing all those Officers that should be employed in this affaire of such great and consequent importance.

Likewise

Likewiſe it was this day ordered, that Forces ſhould be ready with all expedition to be ſent into *Ireland*, to ſecure all thoſe places which are in danger of being plundered by the Rebels.

Likewiſe it was ordered by the Houſe of Parliament in *Scotland* that Generall *Leſhly* ſhould goe over with 400. Red-ſhanks to ſecure *Dublin*, untill ſuch time as our *Engliſh* Forces bee raiſed and ſent over to joyn with the *Scots* and *Iriſh* Forces and make a compleat Armie, ſo by that meanes to quell thoſe Rebellious *Iriſh* Papiſts, which ſo treacherouſly have revolted, from ſo gracious a King under whoſe happy government they lived, ſecure and quiet, whoſe glorious Reigne the Lord continue, and bleſſe, and proſper all his Royall off-ſpring: ſo that when it ſhall pleaſe our God to take him from his throne on earth, he may be inveſted with a more glorious Crown in heaven: and let all true Subjects ſay: *Amen*.

Likewiſe upon the 15. day of *November*, according to the command of the Honourable Houſe of Parliament, there went 4. waggons with 7. cheſts of money drawne with 6. horſes each waggon with 6. men wel armed with fire locks and piſtols to guard it from ſtage to ſtage toward *Weſtcheſter*, and thence to be ſhipt to *Ireland*, for the uſe and reliefe of our Forces, which are ordained to ſerve in this Imployment, which God of his abundant mercy proſper: give them, we beſeech thee, couragious hearts, mixt with a religious feare, ſo that they may couragiouſly fight for the defence of the good, and religiouſly feare to commit evill: ſo ſhall the religious war be crowned with a glorious victory, and an united peace ſetled betweene the three Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, *and Ireland*: ſo ſhall the Goſpel have free liberty; So ſhall the Church militant praiſe thee our God on earth, and in thy bleſſed time enjoy true reſt with thee in the Church triumphant in heaven.

The Names of thoſe Commanders that are appointed by the High Court of Parliament, for this preſent Expedition.

SIr *Simon Harcot*, Colonel over the firſt Regiment.

Sergeant Major Berry, Commands 300. men with fire-locks.

Coronell Maudro, commands 2. Regiments from *Scotland* which were not disbanded.

Captain *Atkins*, commands a Regiment under the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Sergeant Major *Howell* goeth with a Regiment under the command of Colonell *Merick*.

Inferiour Officers.

Captaine *Doſſin*. Captaine *Mullins*. Captaine *Payne*. Captaine *Smith*. Captaine *Langley*.

FINIS.

THE PRINCIPALL DUTY OF Parliament-Men,

OR A SHORT AND COMPENDIOUS TREATISE, CONCERNING THE UNITY, AND UNANIMITY, WHICH SHOULD BE IN THE MEMBERS OF THAT HONOURABLE ASSEMBLY.

By *Richard Ward*, Master of Arts, and Minister of the Word at *Stansteed-Mount-Fitchet* in ESSEX.

1 COR. 1. 10.

I beseech you brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, That you all seek the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that yee be perfectly joyned together in the same minde, and in the same judgement.

London, Printed by *J. R.* 1641.

TO

All the Right Honourable, and Right Worthy of all Honour; together with the Right Worſhipfull, and Right Worthy, the Members of the High, and Honourable Court of PARLIAMENT.

In eſpeciall,

In regard of a more eſpeciall Engagement, To the Right Worſhipfull Sir *Edward Deering* Knight, and Baronet; and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Knight, his very noble Friends; and Sir *Thomas Barington*, Sir *William Maſſam*, and Sir *Martin Lumley*, Knights, and Baronets; Of, and for the County of *Eſſex*.

Right Honourable, Right Worſhipfull, and Religious Senators; I know, that to the ayd, and furtherance of ſome great enterprize, and deſign, there is more required then Wiſhes *and* Deſires; *and therefore (as to the building of the* Lords Houſe, *every one brought ſome thing, according to his ability, ſo) to the Proſperous ſucceſſe, and happy iſſue, of this long deſired* Parliament, *there is required not only a Religious care, and endeavour in your Honours; but alſo, that we (whoſe cauſes you are pleaſed to agitate, and manage, and whoſe* grievances *you take into your* grave conſiderations) *ſhould afford unto your Honours that furtherance, and aſſiſtance, which lyes in our power; that is, both in zealous, and fervent calling upon God for you, and in a modeſt, and humble informing, and adviſing of you.*

The ſerious Animadverſion hereof, emboldened your humble Orator, *to preſent this* Petition *(for it is no other) unto your Honours, for* Unity, and Unanimity in Religion among your ſelves, *conſidering with my ſelf, the neceſſity, and excellency of the* Theam, *(for the furtherance of your* Chriſtian conſultations, *and* deep deſignes) *and that none as yet have tendred any* Treatiſe *unto your Honours of this* Subject.

As fair faces need no Painting, nor good Wine a gaudy Buſh; So a rare and tranſcendent Subject, needs no poor Oratory *to praiſe it, nor affected Language to ſet it forth. And therefore, I will not make any* Encomions *in commendation of that religious* Amity *and* Unity, *which ſhould ſhine, and ſhew forth it ſelf, in your Honours; but only give you a ſhort hint of the neceſſity, and excellency thereof, and then refer re your Honours to the pious conſideration of the* Treatiſe *it ſelf.*

Andreas Alciarus, Lib. Emblem. pag. 144.

An Emblematiſt, *by an acute* Embleme *endeavours to ſhew, the excellency of Unity, Unanimity, and mutuall accord, and ayd, in thoſe who are joyned in Commiſſion together, for any publike good. His* Impreſſe, *or* Embleme *is,* Diomedes, *and* Ulliſſes, *the two* Grecian Worthies; *The* former *whereof he ſuppoſeth to be wiſe, politike, and prudent, able to adviſe, counſell, contrive, and manage a Warre; and the* latter *ſtrong, couragious, and bold, yea able to atchieve any feazible enterprize. His* word, *or* Motto *is,* Unum nihil, duos plurimum poſſe, One is as good as none, but two can do much. *The declaration, and amplification of the* Embleme *is expreſſed in theſe verſes:*

Viz.

Viribus hic præſtat, hic pollet acumine mentis,
Nec tamen alterius non eget alter, ope
Cum duo conjuncti veniunt victoria certa eſt.

That is,

When one is ſtrong, the other very wiſe,
To help each other, they muſt not deſpiſe.
For when both ſtrength, and wit, conjoyned are,
Then crowned victory doth follow warre.

I have ſo amply, amplified, *and* applyed *this* Embleme, *in this* Diſcourſive Petition *preſented to your Honours* peruſall, *that I will wholly here balk the* application *thereof.*

That

That the Treatiſe dedicated *unto your Honours, might carry the* more weight, *the* Dedicator *being of* ſmall worth; *That e not ſtole a* Coal *from the* Altar, *but* borrowed *a* ſentence *from* Haven, (*of* Him, *who ſpake nothing but* Golden Sentences, *and* unto whom *Kings, Princes, Peers, and the mightieſt Monarches muſt ſtoop*) *that your Honours may* look upon, *and* accept *of this* Preſent, *as a* Stem *ſprung from that* Stock, (*though it be very rough hewn*) *as an explication of our Saviours own prayer, for your proſperous Proceedings,* (*although not unfolded with that curious art, that it deſerves*) *as a ſacred, ſaving, and neceſſary truth,* (*though folded up in courſe cloath*) *and as a* Meſſage *ſent unto your Honours from* Heaven, *from the* King *thereof, though by a moſt mean* Meſſenger, *and unworthy* ſervant *of* his. *And then* he *ſhall think himſelf happy* (*in being an inſtrument of Peace, Love, Vnity, and Concord, unto your Honours*) *who will alwayes* pray *for your* Perſons, *and* proceedings, *and all that concerns you, and acknowledge himſelf ever,*

Your Honours moſt humble,

and obſervant, Orator,

RICH. WARD.

THE PRINCIPALL DUTY OF PARLIAMENT-MEN.

JOHN 17. 21. *Text.*

That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee.

RIght Honourable, Right Worſhipfull, and grave Senators; *Aſtorides* having once ſeen *Roſcius* his *geſtures*, durſt never after come upon the *Stage*. *Hiparchion* hearing *Ruſinus blow* upon his *Pipe*, would never after *play* upon his *Flute*. Two things daunt the minde of a *Speaker*, or *Writer*; *Viz.* The *skill*, and *Perſon*, of the *Reader* or *Hearer*. Whence *Demoſthenes* that famous Orator of *Athens*, was ſo aſtoniſhed at the Majeſty of King *Philip*, that he loſt his Speech: And *Carvitus* ſeeing *Hannibal* come into the Schools, became dumb. I may juſtly apply theſe Antiquities unto my ſelf, conſidering the *worth* of thoſe, *to whom I write*, and the *unworthineſſe*, and *weakneſſe* of the *Writer*. I dedicate theſe lines to *thoſe*, who are of acute wits, ſtrong judgements, profound knowledge, ſound learning, and eloquent tongues; but for my ſelf, although I cannot ſay truly, *That I am like Moſes, a man of a ſlow ſpeech, and ſtammering lips*; yet moſt juſtly, *That I am not like Aaron, of an eloquent* *Apology.*

eloquent tongue, neither an ear-tickling Orator; And therefore my justly fear to speak, or write, unto so *learned* an *Assembly*. But because your Honours are not ignorant, that it is not more tedious to a *Carpenter* to work against the *grain*, then it is for a *Scholler* to force his *Genius*, or to handle a Subject, *Invitâ Minervâ*; I will therefore make no more excuses for my self, but passe from the *Apology* to the *Proeme*.

Context.

CHrist being to give up that body to *death*, for our *redemption*, which he took in a *humane life*, for our *sins*, before his now approaching end, fore-armes his Church with a four-fold warning; to wit,

I. An exemplary document of Love, and Humility shewed in washing his Disciples feet, Chap. 13. 1. &c. And

II. A propheticall prediction of his death, and their scattering, Chap. 13. 18, &c. And

III. A large Sermon, continued from Chap. 13. 31. to Chap. 16. to the end. And

IV. A most pious prayer (as is used after our Sermons) for Gods blessing upon them, Chap. 17.

In this prayer (practising the Platform prescribed by himself) he first requests the glory of God, Chap. 17. 2, &c. And secondly, the good of the Church; and that dividedly, *viz.*

First, For his then Apostles, and Disciples, Verse 9. to the 20. Then

Secondly, For all his, of after ages, Verse 20. &c. For whom he craves two blessings. One, that they may be united in one, Verse 21, 22, 23. This is in *Viâ*, in this *life present*. The other, that they may be so present with *Him*, that they may see his glory, Verse 24. &c. Which shall be performed in *Patriâ*, in the *life to come*.

The former of these is declared in three Gradations, *Viz.*

1. In generall, *that they may be one*, Verse 21.

2. More particularly, That this Union may be not of the *members* only, *one with another*, but of the *whole body*, with *God*, *and Christ*, Verse 21, 22.

3. More

3. More fully, that they may be perfect in this Union, *as are God, and Christ*, Verse 22, 23.

The *first* of these *three* is the *Subject* of our *Text*, and hath two parts, *Vinculum*, and *Exemplum*; the *Conjunction* [that *they may be one*] and the *Declaration*, [as *thou art in me, and I in thee.*] Division of the Text.

I will treat only of the *first part*. That *they may be one*: wherein if I should dive curiously into circumstances, these things would occurre, and offer themselves to our consideration, *Viz.* 1. Who prayes? 2. To whom he prayes? 3. For whom he prayes? *Viz.* 1. Of what nature they are for whom he prayes? *Mine.* And 2. Of what number they are? *All mine.* 4. What means he useth to obtain what he desires? *Viz. Prayer.* And 5. What is prayed for? But passing by the *four former*, I will insist only upon the *last*, which is the principall; *That all Christs members may be one, and conjoyned in one body, and spirituall bond of Unity.* But before I shew the nature of this *Union*; I will resolve a *Question* or two, for the better understanding of the *Text*.

How many wayes are things said to be *One*, that our Saviours here prayes, That his children *may be One?* *Question.* 1.

Things are said to be *One* five manner of wayes; to wit, Things are said to be One five wayes.

First, *Naturally*, As the soul and body make one man. *Answer.*

Secondly, *Artificially*, As wood, stones, and timber, make one house.

Thirdly, *Mystically*, As Christ and his Church make one body.

Fourthly, *Mysteriously*, As the husband, and wife are one. And

Fifthly, *Spiritually*, As all the faithfull are one in Christ.

And thus our Saviour prayes, *That his children may be One.*

How many wayes may *One thing* be made of *Many*, that our Saviour here prayes, that his *children*, who are *Many*, may be made *One?* *Question* 2.

One thing may be made of *Many*, six manner of wayes; as namely. One thing is made of Many six wayes. *Answer.*

1. By *Appositum*, As by many stones laid, or cast together, is made one heap. And

2. By *Compositum* and mixture, As of water, and honey is made sweet drink. And.

3. By *Alteration*, When the first perfect form is altered; as of many Grapes is made one Vessell of Wine. And

4. When one thing is made of *matter* and *form*; as Utensils, and the like Artificiall things are. And

5. When one thing is made of a *Subject*, and an *Accident*, as a painted wall. And

6. By a spirituall, and *Mysticall conjunction*; and thus the *faithfull* who are *Many*, are made *One*.

How many wayes is this word *One* taken?

One, taken three wayes. *Question* 3. *Answer.*

One is taken ordinarily three manner of wayes; to wit,

First, For an eminent, or singular dignity, *John* 10. 30. And

Secondly, For the mindes undivided simplicity. And

Thirdly, For a multitudes aggregated community.

The first, Unity is superiour, and is to be admired.

The second is interiour, and is to be imitated.

The third is exteriour, and is to be aggregated, and heaped together.

The first Unity is of highest dignity.

The second is of the mindes simplicity.

The third is of a joynt, and Christian fraternity.

Unity twofold. The *Text* speaks of the *Last*, in which sense *Unity* and *Unanimity* is in a manner the same; and is twofold; to wit,

1. *Aggregative*, And is so called, because it consists of many persons added, or joyned together in one *Assembly*; and thus any *National Church* is *One*; that is, *One in profession*, as *many members* joyned together, make *one body*. And

2. *Compositive*, When not only *many* are joyned together *in one Assembly*, and profession; but also in minde, and affection, one participating of the qualities of another. And of this *Union* the *Text* principally speaks, as will appear by and by.

Union twofold *Question* 4. *Answer* 1.

What *Union* or *Unity* doth the *Text* speak of?

First, There is *Unity* in errour, conspiracy, bloud, and wickednesse: as is evident from *Gen.* 19. 4. *Prov.* 1. 10, 11. 14. *Luke* 23. 12. *Acts* 19. 24, 25, &c. But this being not of Christ, is without the lists, and limits of our *Text*, which speaks only of *an holy Union in Him*.

Secondly,

Secondly, That holy Union whereof our Text ſpeaks, is two ſeverall wayes divided; Namely, *Anſw.* 2.

1. In reſpect of the Object, or Perſons; and ſo it is, either 1. Of the Members among themſelves. Or 2. Of the Body with the Head. And both theſe *Unions* are found in 1 *Joh.* 1. 3. And

2. In reſpect of the *ſubject matter*; and ſo it is, either 1. In minde and opinion. Or 2. In heart, and affection. Both which *Unions* are found in 2 *Cor.* 13. 11.

From theſe two diſtinctions, come three ſorts *of holy Union*, viz. Three ſorts of holy Union.

Firſt, *of opinion*; and is called τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν. 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. *One minde and one judgement, whereby we all think one thing, Philip.* 2. 2. And

Secondly, of *affection*; and is called *one heart and one ſoul. Acts* 4. 32. καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία. And

Thirdly of *grace* and heavenly *communion*; and is called *the fellowſhip of Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 9. Now paſſing by the *ſecond* and *third*, I will recommend to your Honours pious conſideration, onely the *firſt, viz. union in opinion*; which affords this *Propoſition*, or point of obſervation,

That as many as will pleaſe the Lord Chriſt, or approve themſelves to be Chriſtians, muſt endevere, and cleave faſt unto that union of Doctrine, which is according to the truth of the Goſpel; They muſt be *of one minde* [a]: which the Apoſtle expounds, *to think all one thing* [b], and *to ſpeak all one thing* [c], and *to be knit in one minde and judgement* [d], and *to be of one minde* [e]. It muſt here be add d, and we muſt carefully remember, That this *union* muſt be *according to that Goſpel and eternall truth, which we have heard and learn'd of Chriſt, and hath been taught by him, as the truth is in Jeſus* [f]. This is called, that *Form* [g], or *Pattern* [h], or *Mould* [i] *of doctrine*, *wherevnto we were delivered*. And this the Apoſtle eſpecially presſeth, That he may hear of the *Philippians*, *That they may continue in one minde, and in one ſpirit, for the faith of the Goſpel* [k]. *Doctrine.*

[a] 2 Cor. 13. 11.
[b] Philip. 2. 2.
[c] 1 Cor. 1. 10.
[d] 1 Cor. 1. 10.
[e] 1 Pet. 3. 8.
[f] Eph. 4. 21.
[g] Rom. 6. 17.
[h] Tim. 1. 13.
[i] Annot. Geneve.
[k] Philip. 1. 27.

In whom ſhould this *holy union* eſpecially *ſhine*, and *ſhew* it ſelf? *Queſt on.*

Firſt, in generall in all *Chriſtians*; becauſe there is but *one way, one truth, one Chriſt*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. *Anſwer* 1.

Secondly, in all *Miniſters*; becauſe *their lips ſhould preſerve know-* *Anſwer* 2.

knowledge, and the people are to seek the Law (which is but *One*) *at their mouth* [l].

[l] Mal. 2. 7.

Answer 3. Thirdly, In all ſpirituall or *Eccleſiaſticall Law-givers*, and all *pious publike Aſſemblies*, convened for the good of the *Church*. And theſe eſpecially muſt be *One*, both in *minde*, *opinion*, and *judgement*. But of this more amply afterwards, in the *ſecond Vſe*. I will now apply, for methods ſake, the point propounded.

Vſe 1. Is it ſo, That all true Chriſtians ſhould adhere unto that *Vnion of Doctrine*, with an unanimous conſent, which is according *to the truth of the Goſpel*; then all Authors, and Abettors, all Fathers, Fautors, and furtherers of diviſion in Religion, and the Church, are firſt of all to be reproved, as guilty in a high nature. The Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, reproves the Church becauſe of *diſſentions* [m], entreating them to admit of none amongſt them [n]; no *though an Angel from Heaven ſhould preach otherwiſe unto them* [o]: And grievouſly reproves them *who forſake the fellowſhip, which we have among our ſelves* [p]. Marke how fearfully he adjureth us, to obſerve them diligently, *Which cauſe diſſentions, and offenſes, contrary to the Doctrine which we have learned*. And wherefore? To follow them; Or favour them? No, but as *Snakes*, and *Adders* [q], *to avoide, and eſchew them* [r], *to ſtop their mouthes* [s], and *to have no ſociety or fellowſhip with them, that they may be aſhamed* [t]. And therefore, that your Honours may the more carefully *ſee* to thoſe *Seeds-men* of miſchief, and *ſowers* of the *Tares of diſſentions*, and *diſcord* in our *Church*, and make *ſharp* the *ſickles*, and *ſithes* of your *zeal*, for the cutting of them down, and weeding them up by the roots; I will give you a *Character* or two of them.

[m] 1 Cor. 11. 18.
[n] 2 Cor. 11. 10.
[o] Gal. 1. 8.
[p] Heb. 10. 25.
[q] *Canes rabies & Angue.*
[r] Rom. 16. 17.
[s] Tit. 1. 10.
[t] 2 Theſ. 3. 14.

What the Sowers of diſcord are.

1. Sowers of diſcord are not of God.

First, Sowers of diſcord, and diſſention, and diſturbers of the peace of the Church, by introducing of errors, hereſies, ſchiſmes, ſects, and ſuperſtitious practiſes thereunto, *are not of God*: and therefore let them not ſtand. We read of a contention between *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, about an Iland ſituate betwixt both, *to whom it ſhould belong*, each challenging it as theirs. But after much conteſt on both ſides, they fell upon this reſolution, and agreement, *To put a Snake thereinto, and if it lived, then Scotland ſhould enjoy it, but if it dyed, Ireland*. Thus if we be *of God*, this

Snake

Snake of *diſcord* will *dye* in our hearts; but if it be nouriſhed, haboured, and *live* there, we are not *his*. And therefore, let all Gods people know, that they are *not of God*, who introduce diviſions, and innovations into the Church: for God is not the Author of confuſion but of peace. [a] *He that tranſgreſſeth the Doctrine of Chriſt, hath not God; therefore receive him not into your houſes, neither bid him God ſpeed* [b]. All *lines* the *further* from the *center*, the *further diſjoyned*; the *nearer* to it, the *nearer united*. Now this *Center*, is *the God of trueth*, and this *Union* is *the trueth of God*; and therefore let your Honour approve your love unto God, by your ſtudy and care to preſerve *his trueth*.

[a] 1 Cor. 14 53.
[b] 2 Ioh 9 a.

Secondly, Theſe [c] Sowers of diſſention, and Broachers of diviſion in doctrine, *rend Chriſts ſeamleſſe Coat* [c], yea *Chriſt himſelf* [d]. And as at the death of Chriſt, the *Veil*, of the *old Temple* was rent, to let in the *new doctrine* of the *Goſpel* [e]; even ſo, theſe men (with a contrary event) would rend in pieces the *Tabernacle of Truth*, to re-admit *old* and *antiquated ſuperſtitions*. And therefore let your Honours have a ſpeciall eye towards them, and care to prevent them.

2. Sowers of diſcord, rend Chriſts Coat.
[c] Iohn 19.23.
[d] 1 Cor.1.13.
[e] Matth 27.51.

Thirdly, As diſſentions are fruits of the fleſh, [f] So they that maintain, and broach them, are *fleſhly minded men*; [g] And ſuch as the Church of Chriſt diſclaims: *If any liſt to be contentious, we have no ſuch cuſtome, neither the Churches of God*. [h] Nay, they are inſtruments of the devill, that envious one, *That ſowed tares in the field of God*. [i] For this is Satans chief policy, when by the ſeed of the Word, (as by *Cadmus* his teeth or *Deucalions* ſtones) God hath raiſed up children to *Abraham*; then to caſt ſome bones of diſſention amongſt them, that they biting, and devouring one another, may be conſumed one of another: [k] Thus he threw bones of diſſention between *Lutherans*, and *Zwinglians*; and ſince between *Separatiſts* and *Conformitans*; knowing that a Kingdom divided, cannot ſtand [l]. And therefore let your Honours ſeriouſly labour to ſuppreſſe ſuch Satanicall ſpirits, as labour (for the ſatisfying of their own luſts, and appetites) to ſet the Church on fire by their diſſentions.

3. Sowers of diſcord are fleſhly men.
[f] Gal.5 20.
[g] 1 Cor.3 3.
[h] 1 Cor.11.16.
[i] Matth.13.25.
[k] Gal.5.15.
[l] Matth.12.25.

Fourthly, Satan triumphs, both over his *preachers*, and *priſoners*, his *ſouldiers*, and *ſlaves*, deceivers and deceived [m]; thoſe who

4. Satan triumphs over ſuch.
[m] 2 Tim.3.13.

who *take captive* simple souls, and those who are *taken captive* by him at his will [n]. Therefore seeing *those* are his *votaries*, *these* his *vassals*; and *both* his vessels *Active*, and *Passive*: Let your Honours suffer neither those *Actives*, who study to deceive [o]; nor those *Passives*, who are carried about with every blast of vain doctrine; but be your selves *Deponents*, casting away out of our Church, every thing that presseth down [p]; and disdeceit, and cogging of men, whereby they lye in waite to deceive [q]; punishing those who *Satanically deceive*; pitying those who *simply are deceived*, and labouring that these instruments of Satan, who pervert unstable souls, may be either truly reclaimed, or severely corrected for these their wicked practises.

[n] 2 Tim. 2. 27. and 3. 6

[o] Eph. 4. 14.

[p] Heb. 12. 1.

[q] Eph. 4. 14.

5. Seedes-men of dissention, are the Churches worse enimies.

Fifthly, These sowers of discord, dissention, and jarres in Religion, are the most desperate enimies the *Church* and *Commonwealth* have. The Trojanes had two great enimies, *Achilles*, and *Vlisses*: *Vlisses* he stole the *Palladium* out of the *Capitall*, which was the fate, fortune, and prosperity of their City; *Achilles* he slew *Hector* their chief, and choicest Champion; but yet *Vlisses* did them more harm, then *Achilles*. Thus is it with us, we have had some of our *Hectors* slain; I mean some of our burning, and shining Lamps extinguisht, and silenced, and some principall Pillars, and prime pious Preachers suspended; whereby our Church hath been much weakned, and the hearts of the faithfull mightily enfeebled: but yet behold a greater mischief. *Religion* is the *Palladium*, and face of our *Land*, and no longer can the *Commonwealth* flourish, then the *Church* fares well; (for if the *Church* sinke, the *State* cannot stand) And therefore *He* or *They*, who go about to bring erroneous, or heretical opinions, or superstitious practises into our *Church*; and who countenance, and encourage such; and labour to smother, and suppresse the truth, as much as in them lyes, are the worst and wretched st enimies the *Church* and *State* have: for in cutting off the *Head of Religion*, by the introducing of these errors, and superstitions, they utterly ruine *both*. And therefore, let your Honours, who stand at the Helm, take heed of these devouring shelves, and rocks; which without your speciall care, and help, threaten our shipwrack, and ruine. Oh consider (grave, gratious, and sage Senators) what *Innovations*,

ons, and *Alta*rations, have of late yeers been introduced into our Church? How many of late yeers have been preferred in our Church, by ſome of our principall Prelates, who were either looſe, and lewd in their lives, or lazy in their callings, or Papiſticall, or Pelagianiſts in their opinions, or ſuperſtitious in their practiſes, or extollers of ceremonies above ſubſtance, or ſet forms of prayer above conceived, or of reading above preaching, that thereby people might be nuzled up in ignorance? What courſes of late yeers have been taken to put down Lectures on the week day, yea, preaching on the Lords day in the afternoon? That ſo people being deprived and robbed of the light of Gods Truth, might ſtumble, and fall into errors, and be robbed of their ſouls, and everlaſting welfare. What Popiſh and Arminian Tenents have been preached, and printed of late yeers, with the allowance, leave, licenſe, liking, and approbation of ſome in authority in the Church? What courſes of late have been taken to diſcountenance, diſcourage, keep low, and curb thoſe who like Candles, did conſume themſelves, and their ſtrength, to give the benefit of light and knowledge unto others; I mean, who did not only labour to benefit their particular flock and charge, by their painfull, and induſtrious preaching; but alſo the whole Church; yea, future ages, by their profitable writings? What curſed, and crafty care hath been taken of late dayes, for the expunging (out of Books, tendred to the preſſe) of Orthodoxe truths, and grounds, which overthrow thoſe Tenents which are Heterodoxe? I may ſay here, *Experto crede Richardo*, that ſad experience hath taught me this truth. But I paſſe it by, becauſe I hope your Honours in your depth of wiſedome, will take care for the rectifying of this abuſe for the time to come. I will conclude this, with the ſaying of the *Pſalmiſt*, *If the Lord had not been on our ſide; now may the Church of England ſay, If the Lord had not been on our ſide*, and with a ſtrong * North winde turned the ſtream, and hindred the proceedings of theſe wicked *Achilles*, and *Achitophels*; we had ere long been overwhelmed in the deluge of ignorance, hereſie, ſuperſtition, popery, and blindneſſe. But bleſſed be God, who hath hitherto delivered us from this danger, and the Lord in mercy ſo bleſſe your Honours, and all your

* *Non omne mutat ab Aquilone.*

your proceedings, and undertakings, that this jugling, leger-demain, and water-mens tricks (to look one way, and row another) may be more and more discerned, and discovered by you; to their shame, but our rejoycing.

Vse 2. In the next place, the point propounded, and proved, may fitly be applyed to all your Honours now assembled, and met *in High Court of Parliament.*

When *Carthage* was besieged by *Scipio*, *Hannibal* sought for peace, who never before that time refused warre; professing ingenuously, that he might better have lost all the battels, within, and beyond the *Alpes*, than one at the Gates of *Carthage*; for there he adventured nothing, but the superfluity of youthfull bloud, who sought their destiny in the field of honour, under the banner of *Mars*; but here the Common-wealth was laid to stake, and they plaid their lives, liberties, wives, children, religion, and all at one game. I may aptly apply this (Religious Senators) unto you, whom we have betrusted with our lives, liberties, estates, Religions, and all; and therefore it behoves us all, (as those who fight, *pro aris & focis*) to tug, and wrestle with the Almighty God of *Jacob* for you, *That you may be One in the maintenance, and furtherance of this one truth.*

More particularly, Two things we pray for you, and of you, *Viz.*

1. That you may be one amongst your selves. And
2. That you may be a means to make us one. Now of these in their order.

First, We beseech you, and we implore the throne of grace for you, That all you may be like *Jerusalem, at unity amongst your selves.*

The *Fowler* is to be condemned of *folly*, who takes in hand to talk, or treat of *hunting*; and the *Merchant* is counted *mad*, who *meddles* with the rules of *Astronomy.* But it is allowed to every man to *treat* and *talk* of his own *trade*, and to discourse of those things which concern his own *calling*[a]: and therefore seeing I do not read a *Lecture of Law*, or state policy unto you, but keep my self in my own element of *Divinity*; I hope your Honours will not only bear with me, but (as *Credendum artifici in suâ arte*, so)

[a] *Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator, &c.*

ſo) alſo give credit to what I ſpeak. Indeed it may be ſaid, That the Sowe teacheth *Pallas*, and the Aſſe *Apollo*; when *Phormio* treats of warre before *Hannibal*; or an ignorant Attorney of Law, before the learned Judges; or a weak Divine, of the peace, and diſtractions of the Church, before, or unto thoſe Divine ſpirits, who have long made the cauſes, effects, and remedies thereof, their chiefeſt ſtudy, and obſervation. But becauſe I bring a meſſage unto you, the Lords Jehues, who are by him appointed for the purging out of all idolatry out of our Church, Let not the meanneſſe, or weakneſſe of the Meſſenger, be the leaſt let, to hinder your Honours from hearing, and bearing the word of exhortation patiently. Yea, becauſe I come unto you from the Lord, and in his Name, be pleaſed (although I am unworthy to ſpeak unto you) to be exhorted, *To be one*, and to adhere to this holy *Vnion of Truth*; and as far as you go in matters of *Religion*, and the *Church*, to proceed by that *One Rule of Truth*, and *to minde one thing*[b]; and in your rowing, *to ſtrike altogether*[c]; and in your grave, and godly Aſſembly, *to drink one to another, in Philotheſius his cup*[d], and to conſpire altogether[e], for the eſtabliſhing of this holy *Vnion of Truth amongſt us*; and to preſerve the *Vnity of the Spirit*, in the bond of peace, *amongſt your ſelves*[f].

[b] Phil 3. 6.
[c] *Paritò remum ducere Adag.*
[d] ὥσπερ ἐν πότοις Φιλοθησίου. *Adag.*
[e] εἰς τ' αὐτὸ ξυμπνεῖν. *Plato.*
[f] Epheſ. 4. 3.

Three things I have here to recommend to your Honours moſt ſerious conſideration; *Viz.* 1. The *Motives* which ſhould move, & perſwade you to be one. 2. The *Manner*, wherein you muſt be one. 3. The *Means* wherby you may be one. And of theſe in their order.

Firſt, The *Motives* which ſhould incite, and induce you *to be one*, are theſe, *Viz.* *The Motives.*

1. Becauſe great muſt our miſery needs be, if you ſhould be *Many*. The Proverb ſaith, *Quot capita tot ſenſus, So many men, ſo many mindes*; but God forbid, that ever we ſhould take up this Proverb of you, who are our Patriots, our publike parents, our Guardians, and Law-givers; and therefore if you jar or differ, we periſh[g]. What a Greek Poet ſaid once of *Megalopolis*, in *Arcadia*, μεγάλη ἐρημία μάλιστα δὲ μεγάλη πόλις. *Contrariorum contraria ſunt conſequentia.* *Motive* 1.
[g] *Tu es Patronus tu pater, &c.*

may (ſadly, ſeelingly, *The great City is become a forſaken Wilderneſſe*[h], muſt needs be ſaid of us, and our Land, if you be divided. Contraries (we ſay) are beſt Commentaries[i], and from contrary propoſitions, contrary concluſions may be collected: and therefore, if your *Vnity*

[h] Lam. 1. 1.
[i] *Contrariorum contraria ſunt conſequentia.*

and *Unanimity* be our *bliſſe*, your *diſſentions*, and *breaches* will become our *bane*; and therefore *be ye one*. *Solons* law to the Athenians adjudged him to dye, who in civill Garboyles became a *Neuter*. Now if it be a crime deſerving death, to be a *Neuter* in diſſentions, and to take no part, then certainly it is much worſe to be an *Incendiary*, and a party, to throw, and kindle the coals of contention.

But leſt I ſhould ſeem to any, to blemiſh thoſe whom ſincerely I honour, I will not proſecute this Motive; the Body of our Land having with admiration, and holy thankfulneſſe, obſerved how the *eyes* of this *Honourable Aſſembly* look not *a ſquint*, but *aright*, with one intention, and amidſt pious unanimous conſent in thoſe things which ſimply concern Religion. And therefore *Multæ virtute eſtis*, Go on in Gods Name, and the Lord proſper you, and all your grave, gracious, and godly proceedings.

Motive 2. 2. Another inducement is, Becauſe *if yee be one*, yee ſhall be the Patriots, Preſervers, ſafeguard, and defence of the Land, which (to your honour and everlaſting praiſe) will be regiſtred in the Records of Fame, for future and ſucceeding ages. The Heathens thought it a thing worthy of applauſe, and praiſe, for a man to dye for his Countrey [k]; and Chriſtians cannot have a lower value and eſteem of thoſe who protect, and preſerve their Country from deſolation and deſtruction. *Anaximenes* being about to travell to *Athens* for the ſtudy of Philoſophy, a friend comes to him to diſſwade him from his intended journey; and he could invent no ſtronger argument then this; *Oh friend, haſt thou no care of, or regard unto thy Country*[l]? I dare not, I may not ſay thus unto you, whoſe care is evidently ſeen, and made apparent unto all; you waking, when we ſleep, yea, waking, that we may ſecurely ſleep, and ſparing neither coſt, nor pains, for our good, but denying your ſelves for your Countries welfare. I will only make bold to tell you, that both *Church*, and *State*, cry unto you, as they of *Macedonia* did unto *Paul*, *Come, and help us*, for both ſtand in need of your help: And therefore for their good, *be yee one*. *Antiſthenes* ſaid, That Unity, and Unanimity amongſt Counſellors of State, were better for a City or Common-wealth, then

Acts 16. 9.

[k] *Pulchrum? pro patria mori.*

[l] Οὐκ ἔστι σοι πατρὶς οὐδὲ ζητεῖς ταύτην ἀνθ' ὅτου ζῇς;

any

any wall, or the like defence[m]: and *Agesilaus* being demanded by one, *Wherefore Sparta was not walled about*; He shewed him the unanimous Citizens armed for their own defence, and safety, with these words[n], *These are Sparta's walls*; signifying thereby, That a Common-wealth can have no surer, nor safer Forts or Bulwarks, then *Unity* and *Unanimity* among the Heads, Pilots, and Stears-men thereof. Now, although this be *most true*, yet it is not *more true*, in a *State*, then in a *Church*; and therefore *be yee one*, That by your Unity and Unanimity, our sinking, and half ruined Republike, and drouping and declining Church, may be saved, and reduced to their best, and purest estate. You (the Parliamentaries) are our Bulwarks, Wals, and Gates, under the Lord; yea, the Hoast of the Lord, and of *Gideon* his annointed, chosen out of the Land, for the glory of your God, the honour of your King, the demolishing of idolatry, and Popery, the promoting of Religion, the peace of the Church, the punishing of delinquents in Church, and State, the encouraging and countenancing of the good, the relieving of the distressed, the rectifying of what is amisse, the reforming of abuses, and the advancing of the honour, peace, and welfare of the Common-wealth. And therefore, that the expectation of Church and State be not frustrated, *be yee one*.

[m] *Quovis muro firmius munimentum.* Lacon. lib. 6. cap. 1.

[n] *Hi sunt Spartæ civitatis mœnia.* Plutarch. in Agesil.

3. Another Inducement to perswade you *to this holy Unity*, is, Because thereby your *Assembly* shall be the more strong, and impregnable, yea plainly *invincible*. For many can do that with ease, which one cannot with pains[o]. *Scipio Africanus* having overcome the *Numantines*, asked Prince *Tiresius*, [p] *How it came to passe, that Numantia was formerly so victorious, but now overcome, and conquered?* To whom *Tiresius* returns this answer, *Concordia victoriam, discordia exitium præbuit; Concord presages victory, but discord destruction.* Whence *Mycipsa* lying at the point of death (as *Salust* tels us) admonished his sonnes to be at Unity amongst themselves; *Because* (saith he[q]) *by Unity a Molehill will become a Mountain, but by dissention, a Mountain, a Molehill.* Many brooks meeting together in one, will make a swelling, and overflowing River; and a great stream cut into many rivulets, may quickly be stepped over. And hence, *Scilurus* having eighty sonnes, when

Motive 3.

[o] *Vis unita fortior.*

[p] *Qua de causa Numantia aut prius invicta, aut post eversa fuisset.*

[q] *Concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur.*

he lay upon his death bed, cauſed a bundle of Arrows to be fetched, and then bad his ſonnes break them, which none of them could do long as they were bound up; but being looſed, every one could break them, one by one: Whereupon the old man takes occaſion to give this ſeaſonable admonition, and carefull Caveat unto his ſonnes; *My children* (ſaith he) *if ye will be of one minde, and hold cloſe together in mutuall love, then you ſhall be ſtrong, and invincible; but if yee be ſevered with jarres, and diſcord, then every one will wrong, and trample upon you.*

* *Si concordes eritis, validi, invictique manebitis; contra, ſi diſſidiis & ſeditione diſtrahemini, imbecilles eritis, & expugnatu faciles. Stob. ſerm. 82.*

I have rehearſed theſe Hiſtories, that your Honours may ſee, that ſo long as you are of one minde, one judgement, one opinion, and one affection in Religion, nothing can interrupt your proceedings; but like a ſwelling billow, or ſurge, you ſhall with eaſe carry all before you; yea, *a Mountain before you, the Lords Zorobabels, ſhall become a plain.* But if ever (which the Lord in mercy avert, and forbid) you ſhould (for a puniſhment of our ſins) be rent with diviſions and diſcord; then this great, and ſtrong Aſſembly would thereby be ſo weakned, that neither Church, nor State could be ſupported, or redreſſed thereby; and therefore, for the Lords ſake, *be yee one.*

Zach. 4.

As in a body, the beſt conſtitution is made of the temperature of heat, cold, moiſture, and dryneſſe; ſo in a politick, or eccleſiaſtick body, the beſt Aſſemblies are, when there is unity of opinion, and affection, in men of different diſpoſitions and parts: I mean when ſome are more fiery, ſome more moderate; ſome better Speakers, ſome better contrivers; ſome more acute, ſome more ſound, and ſolid; ſome more able to invent; ſome to proſecute a thing ſet a foot by another; ſome more skilfull in one art or ſcience, and ſome in another. When (I ſay) all theſe ſeverall perſons, of ſuch various parts, ſhall deny themſelves, and their ſeeking of themſelves, and with an unanimous conſent, all joyntly labour to improve their proper gifts for the good and benefit of that Church, and State, wherein they live, and for whoſe proſperity and peace they are aſſembled; then all things muſt needs ſucceed proſperouſly, and well with them. And therefore *be ye one.*

As the members of a naturall body by conſent, do help one another; ſo the members of a politique, and eccleſiaſtick body, by

by concord, and unanimity ſhould aſſiſt one another[c]. The body we know conſiſts of many ſeverall members; now if the eye ſhould not help the head, nor the hand the eye, and one member another: the little *Microcoſme* of man, would then quickly periſh: but if there be a ſweet union amongſt all the parts, and every member tenders the weal, and happineſſe of the whole body, as it doth of it ſelf, then the whole body will live and proſper, and be able both to defend it ſelf, and offend its enemies. Oh give me leave grave Senators, to apply this unto you, who are our *Macrocoſme*, and the great repreſentative Body of our Land; if you who conſiſt of many members, and are of divers and ſundry parts, will employ all your learning, and eloquence, and judgement, and wiſedome, and invention, and zeal, and courage, and reſolution, and whatſoever parts, abilities, and gifts, God hath given to all, and every each of you, for the peace and proſperity of this our Church and State; then the bleſſing of the Lord ſhall be upon you, and yee ſhall go on, and proſper, maugre the malice of all the Divels, and Antichriſts inſtruments. And therefore if your Honours would be *Murus aheneus*, a Bulwark of Braſſe for our defence, and your own ſafety; Oh then *be yee one.*

[c] *Macarius, hom.* 3.

4. Another inducement to perſwade you to this *holy Vnity*, and *Motive* 4. *Vnion of Truth*, amongſt your ſelves, is, Becauſe it both ſeems, and indeed is an excellent good thing, for thoſe who are joyned *in one body*, for the common good, to be *of one minde*. The Phyloſophers ſay, That there is *Bonum apparens*, and *verè bonum*: ſome things which ſeem good, but are not, and ſome which both ſeem, and are good. Now *Vnity* and *Vnanimity* amongſt your Honours is of the nature of the latter. And therefore *be yee one.* Pſal. 133. 1.

The *Gem* which is gallant in colour, and perfect in vertue, is the more precious; the *Tree* which hath a fair bark, and a ſweet ſappe, is the more to be eſteemed; the *Panther* having a faire skin, and ſweet breath, is much delighted in. If the *Ore*, which is droſſe outwardly, and gold inwardly, be of great price, what is then the pure refined Gold? If the rough ſtone with a ſecret vertue, be of value, what is it then being poliſhed? If a ſmooth and learned ſtile, in an ill print, import ſome credit, what then doth that, which cometh out of a perfect Preſſe? And therefore ſeeing Union in

minde and opinion, amongſt Senators, ſuch grand Counſellors, doth both *ſeem*, and alſo *is* good; *be yee therefore one.*

Motive 5. 5. Another inducement to perſwade your Honours to this *holy Unity*, and *Vnanimity*, is, Becauſe then we ſhall ſay of yoe, *That ſurely God is in you*, and *with you*, yea, *that yee are Gods.* As *Don Petro Waldez*, a *Spaniard*, when he ſaw the ruine of their invincible Navy, although he ſcoffed at Religion, yet confeſſed, *That now he perceived Chriſt to be a Lutheran*; So when thoſe who cry in their hearts, concerning our Church, and State, *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground*; And omit, no damned plots, nor divelliſh practiſes for the effecting of our ruine and deſtruction; and yet to their confuſion and horrour ſhall ſee, that by your *Vnanimity*, and *Concord*, all their fraud, and force is fruſtrated, and all their ſecret workings diſcovered, and hindered; they will then be forced to acknowledge, that *Chriſt is a member of your Aſſembly*, and that ſurely *the Lord is one of the Parliament Houſe*: Yea further, as they your enemies will ſay, *That God is amongſt you*; ſo we your Admirers ſhall acknow-
Pſal 82.6. ledge, *That ye are Gods, and all of you the children of the Moſt High.* The holy, and ever happy *Trinity*, is but *one* in *eſſence*, although *three* in *perſon*; whence the *Sabians* worſhipped God in three perſons, naming the firſt *Sanctus*, the ſecond *Fidius*, the third *Semi-pater*; and in their oaths they did commonly put *Fidius* in the midſt, as under that name comprehending all the three perſons, whereof came their great oath, *Medius Fidius.* Now, If as you are not only *three*, but above *three hundred* in *perſons*, you be but *one* in *opinion*, *affection*, and *minde*, amongſt your ſelves, in the furtherance, and maintenance of that *one truth of the Goſpel*; you ſhall then therein be like unto God himſelf; and therefore, *be yee one.* Although the head hath two eyes, yet they two have but one motion, and the one cannot be turned about, without the turning of the other; even ſo if your Honours would be eyes to the blind, and lights to the Land, and golden Snuffers to make the Lamps of Religion burn bright; you muſt all minde one thing, and fix all your thoughts upon this one object, the glory of God, and the eſtabliſhing of the unity of truth, and true Religion amongſt us. And therefore, *be yee one.*

6. The

6. The laſt inducement which ſhould move your Honours to this *holy unity*, and *union of truth*, is this, becauſe if *ye be one*, in the maintenance, defenſe, and promotion of the truth, *The truth will make you free*, and defend you from all your foes. As wary Tradeſ-men will ſay to thoſe whom they love, and wiſh well unto, *Keep your ſhop, and your ſhop will keep you*: So I may ſay unto your Honours, maintain Religion, and it will maintain you; defend it, and it will defend you; ſtand ſtoutly for the ſincerity and purity thereof, and it will ſtand for you; protect it, and it will protect you. The wiſemen of *Rome* perſwaded *Anthony* to beware of *Cæſar*, *Becauſe his Genius was the ſtronger*: Even ſo the *Genius* of Religion is ſtronger then that of her enemies; and therefore fear not ye the face or frown of any in the defenſe, and maintenance of Religion. As *Cæſar* ſaid to his Pilot in a ſtorm, *Be not diſmayed, thou carrieſt Cæſar, and his fortunes*; So I ſay, ſo long as your Honours ſtand ſtoutly for the Spouſe, and truth of Chriſt, you carry the *Palladium*, and fate of the Land and Church in your hands, and need fear no ſtorms. As the Picture of *Diana* was framed with that art, that ſhe ſeemed to frown upon thoſe who ſtood without the Temple, looking upon her, but ſmiled upon thoſe who were within: So the Lord ſmiles upon thoſe who unanimouſly agree, and accord in the advancement of his Truth, being aſſembled together for that end, and purpoſe: But frowns upon thoſe, who by ſowing ſeeds, and tares of diſſention, in ſuch ſacred Aſſemblies, hinder the eſtabliſhing of this *holy Union*. Wherefore, if you deſire the Lords *favour*, and not his *frown*, *be ye one*. *Motive 6.*

Frederick the Emperour, warring upon the *Turks*, to his great honour, and their loſſe; Pope *Alexander* the third, repining at his ſucceſſe, cauſed an exquiſite Painter, to draw the Emperours picture to the life; and when it was done, ſent it to the great *Turk*, wiſhing him by his letters, if he deſired to live in peace, to labour by all means, (fraud or force) to kill him, whom that picture did repreſent. I will not *miſ-but croſ-apply* this; I have drawn the *picture* of *Vnity*, in theſe Motives mentioned, wherein to the life we may ſee, the nature, excellency, and utility thereof, both in regard of our Church and State; But I have not laboured

to

to limb it to the life, that you might make it *liveleſſe*, but that knowing it by its picture, you might labour to protect, preſerve, and defend it, from thoſe who ſeek nothing more, then the rending, ruining, and ruinating of it. And thus much for the firſt thing I propounded, to treat of. *Viz. The Motives which ſhould perſwade your Honours to be one.*

Wherein the Parliaments ries ſhould be one.

The next thing in order to be handled, is, *Wherein your Honours ſhould be one?* Namely, in theſe things, *Viz.*

1 In relieving the oppreſſed. 1 Sam. 11. 17.

Firſt, In relieving, the injured, and oppreſſed, as the people of *Iſrael* with one conſent, went out, to relieve thoſe who were beſieged, and hardly beſtead, in *Jabeſh Gilead*. You are elected by the Commons, to take notice of their particular oppreſſions, preſſures, and griefs, and to redreſſe them. And therefore, in the Cordiall deſire, and carefull endeavour thereof, *be yee one*. And

2. In puniſhing of offenders. Iudge 20.

Secondly, In puniſhing thoſe publike offenſes, which either have been ſcandalous, and perillous unto the Church, or pernicious and noxious unto the Common-wealth, as the children of *Iſrael* joyned themſelves together, as one man, to revenge upon the *Benjamites*, the wickedneſſe committed by them, unto the Levites wife. Your Honours are choſen to this Aſſembly, not only to relieve injured perſons, but alſo to reform unjuſt practiſes, and practiſed impieties, both in Church and State; And therefore, herein alſo *you ſhould be one*. And

3 In re-eſtabliſhing of Religion.

Thirdly, In ſetling, rooting, grounding, and eſtabliſhing of Religion, and in building up thereof. I know God is not the Author of confuſion, but the God of order; and I cannot conceive how any particular Nationall Church, or any outward Church, eſtabliſhed in any particular Nation, can ſubſiſt without ſome conſtitutions, diſcipline, and order. But yet for all this be not more carefull for *Diſcipline*, then for *Doctrine*, but labour to eſtabliſh an *Unity* and *Uniformity* in both. Let not *England*, like *Amſterdam*, allow of *many Religions*, becauſe the *true one*, is but *one*. Let ſome care be taken for the reſtraining, and ſuppreſſing of all ſuch Schiſmes, Sects, and Sectaries, as are contrary to the truth, and doctrine of the Goſpel; becauſe theſe rend Chriſts ſeamleſſe Coat, and diſturb the peace, and deſired tranquility of

of the Church. Let not every Preacher be a Plummer, or a Potter, to new mould, or caſt new models of Divinity as they pleaſe; or to impoſe the vain iſſues, and fooliſh fictions, of their own fancies, or the baſtards of their own brain, upon people, as Articles of faith, or as ſound, and ſaving doctrines. *Truth* is but *one* (as followes by and by) and therefore *be yee all as one in the eſtabliſhing of this one truth. Say yee to Archippus,* (the Miniſters of the Word) *Take heed to the Miniſtery which thou haſt received in the Lord, that thou fulfill it.* Col 4.17. Give ſome injunctions to the Lords Meſſengers and Embaſſadors, that they deliver no meſſage, nor embaſſage to the Lord people, but only what they have received from the Lord, and learned out of his Word. Impoſe ſome ſtrict charge upon them, for the ſtrict obſervation, of truth and true Religion which are but one. Lay ſome bridle of reſtraint upon them, to curb them from venting their own private conceits, and opinions publikely to their people, when they have no footing at all, nor any warrant, in the written Word, leſt the people being ſeduced thereby, both periſh. Let your Honours be pleaſed to take notice, That they are unnaturall, and unfitting nurſes, who either do not give children milk at all, or elſe adulterated, and ſophiſticated with many dangerous ingredients to hinder their growth. The firſt are careleſſe, and unlearned Miniſters; The ſecond are ſuperſtitious, and idolatrous falſe Teachers, who by mixing Traditions with the Word, hinder the growth of the people committed to their charge. And therefore your Honours ought alſo *to be one*, in your care of, for, and over the Church, and Truth of Chriſt. And

Fourthly, In taking away *all offenſive Ceremonies* out of the Church. Give me leave my Lords, and the reſt of that Honourable Aſſembly, to enlarge my ſelf a little here, touching the *fitneſſe* of our *Ceremonies*. Should your Honours, our Lawgivers, queſtion, or demand, Whether it were better to urge ſuch things or not? I am utterly perſwaded of the negative; and for the confirmation of my aſſertion, I will lay down ſome plain particulars. 4. In taking away of Ceremonies.

1. Some hold it unlawfull, for the Parliament, or Magiſtrate, to command and urge them, (being thus offenſive) but I dare not ſay ſo, leſt I be asked, Who made thee a Judge [a]? or, Who art thou that condemneſt another mans ſervant [b]? This were *ὑπὲρ ἐξουσίαν*, [a] Exod 2 14. [b] Rom. 14 4.

[c] Rom 12. 3. to be wise above that which is meet[c]; because, *Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos*, What have private men to do with the publike Magistrate? It is our duty to follow those things which concern
[d] Rom. 14. 19. peace[d], and would God all men would embrace it. But yet I dare not allow to any in authority, greater power for the establishing of ceremonies, then the Word doth warrant.

2. I am fully perswaded (were your Honours so pleased) that it were much more convenient, not to command them, or (at least) not (with such offense, strictnesse, and rigour) to urge them; and in my opinion, I have not found any weighty objection to the contrary

Object. 1. First, It is objected, That our Ceremonies were in use, in the Primitive Church.

Answer. When they were in their purer use, they were not holden necessary; neither then were they polluted; neither did the Primitive Church, (which is our case) ever maintain them, giving scandall to their brethren; neither is there now more necessity of them, or (for antiquities sake) more respect to be given them, then to the brazen Serpent, which holy *Hezekias* burnt for the abuse.

Object. 2. Secondly, It is objected, There is good use of them; *viz.* hope to reduce the Romish Church to us.

Answer 1. First, As it is no ordinance appointed by God, to gain our brethren; so if there were any such hope, as is pretended, it might well be doubted, whether men ought to grieve their own children within the Church, out of a slight and uncertain hope to gain them who are without.

Answ 2. Secondly, But indeed there is no such hope at all, the contrary being manifest. For as they have alwayes stuck fast to all their own ordinances, holding it a Maxim, to change nothing; *Ne prius errasse videantur*; so if there be no hope of their yeilding in ceremonies, how much lesse in substantiall doctrines? Surely, We may justly suspect, that this argument was first coyned in some hollow heart, that desired to hold us in our old ceremonies upon any price or promise whatsoever. And me thinks it is no reason, that we should lean (even in circumstances) rather to that polluted Harlot, then to so many godly reformed Churches

Churches, where they are demoliſhed; and as for the Papiſts, well may we draw near to them, but they will not ſtirre one foot towards us, either in doctrine or ceremonies.

Thirdly, It is objected, The Parliament, and Magiſtrate have power to command, and ſettle theſe Ceremonies; therefore it is fitter, others ſhould yeild to them, then they to private men. *Object. 3.*

All this I acknowledge with reverence (provided, they go no further therein, then the Word doth lead them;) But it is nothing to the queſtion, *What were convenient for them to command.* For 1. Men may have power, and not finde neceſſity to uſe it [c]. And 2. In that place to the *Corinthians*, the Apoſtle gives ſome light to our queſtion, *Not uſing* (ſaith he) *his power, to the hinderance of the Goſpel*; The preaching whereof is hindered by theſe our Ceremonies, in many worthy men. 3. The Apoſtle, who had as much power, as any now in our Church, was afraid to burden the Diſciples necks with ſuch yokes [f]. And I profeſſe ingenuouſly unto your Honours, if power were in my hands, I durſt not for the world, command them, and that for theſe reaſons; namely, *Anſwer.*

[c] 1 Cor. 9. 12.

[f] Acts 15 10.

1. Offenſe is every where forbidden. It is not good to do any thing, whereby thy brother is offended [g]: no, though thine own conſcience be reſolved [h]. Whence I reaſon thus, If I ought not to do theſe, when my brothers conſcience is offended (for if I do, I ſin againſt Chriſt [i]) how much leſſe ought I to command him to do them, whoſe conſcience trembles at them? And ſeeing the cauſe of this offenſe (to ſpeak truly, and freely) muſt needs be in him, who hath power to chooſe, whether he will impoſe them, or not; I durſt not for the world, venter on that Woe, pronounced againſt ſuch as give offenſe, and lay ſtumbling blocks before their brethrens feet, when they need not [k].

[g] Rom. 14. 21.

[h] 1 Cor. 10. 28, 29.

[i] 1 Cor. 8. 12.

[k] Matth. 18 7.

2. Things once polluted (eſpecially by Antichriſt, and the rather, offenſe remaining ſtill in them) ought not (I think) to be retained, much leſſe advanced by enforcing Law, without great neceſſity; which in theſe I confeſſe I ſee not.

3. Seeing we plead freedom from Traditions (even thoſe ordained by God under the Law) me thinks the Lord may thus plead with us; *Have I by the Goſpel freed you from mine own ordinances, and will you entangle your brethren with mans devices?* I profeſſe,

feſſe, in the fear of my ſoul, I ſhould fear, that to lay ſuch yokes
[l] Acts 15. 10. on the Diſciples necks, were to tempt God [l].

For concluſion, I will lay down a particular or two, *viz.*

Firſt, I diſtinguiſh betwixt *Affection*, and *Conſcience*; *that* may be *moved*, where *this* is not *entangled*; and indeed I ſee no reaſon our *conſcience* ſhould be brought into ſubjection for theſe things.
[m] Col 3. 1, 2. The Apoſtle bidding us *ſeek thoſe things above, and not theſe below* [m], which is expounded by the beſt Comments, that I have read, of
[n] Col. 2. 21. thoſe negative Traditions, *Touch not, taſt not, handle not, &c* [n]. as if the neglect of ſuch could defile us with ſin.

But for our *Affection*, I ſee not how I can embrace thoſe things (with applauſe, and liking) if the Lord would pleaſe to diſpoſe them otherwiſe, or to move your Honours hearts to take them away. For

1. They are the dregs of that Romiſh abomination, and grant it were lawfull to marry a harlot, yet who would eſpouſe her, whom ſuch Ruffians have defiled? The High-Prieſt might not
[o] Levit. 21. 14. marry a harlot, or one polluted, but a Virgin of his own people [o]. S. *Paul* holding it no ſin to eat of the Idol ſacrifice, forbids it not-
[p] 1 Cor. 10 20. withſtanding, becauſe we muſt have no fellowſhip with them [p]. And

2. Theſe Ceremonies of ours make the Papiſts boaſt, both *abroad*, and at *home*. *Abroad*, that we are but little ſeparate from them; yea, that all our rites are borrowed of them. Read but *Parſons* (under the name of *E. O.*) againſt Dr *Sutcliff*, and Dr *Willet*. And *at home*, the Papiſts in *York-ſhire*, and other places, have triumphed at the *Altaring of the Communion Tables*, hoping that in time, *ſacrifices* would be *effected* thereupon. And

3. The ſimple people in many parts of our Land, do very often *abuſe* our *Ceremonies*, and are *abuſed* by them; many thinking our *Service* and *Sacraments* without the *Surplice*; and *Baptiſm* without the *Croſſe* to be *imperfect*. And

4. If there were no more in them, but that they offend many ſouls of excellent temper, zeal, and humility, what heart that loves the brethren truly, can affect thoſe things, that ſo much offend them? For it is no ſmall thing to diſturb the peace of God in the conſciences of the weak. But

5. How

5. How much more, when by them a grievous Rent is made in our Church, drawing and driving many into forraign parts, and Nations, and into parts, and diviſions, who elſe would joyn with us in a gladſome reconcilement? Then

6. What Chriſtian heart will not bleed to ſee, the grievous harms our *Ceremonies have done* (and in part *do*) to the children of God. Biſhop *Farrer*, (and others in Maſter *Fox*) entrapped by them, when otherwiſe they might have eſcaped, and daily (of late dayes) many conſcionable, and able Preachers ſilenced, for no want of unblameable converſation, (even their adverſaries being witneſſes) but only for not daring *to conform*. Whereby, many people, yea innumerable poor ſouls, have been hindered of that food, which Gods ordinance hath allotted unto them. I will ſhut up this firſt particular, with the words of Maſter *Fox*, ſpeaking of one *Harlſtone*, threatened for not wearing a *Surplice*. *It is pitty* (ſaith he) *ſuch baites of Popery are left to take Chriſtians in, God take them away, or elſe us from them* [q].

[q] *Acts and Monuments, Fol.* 2065. 6.

Secondly, I deſire, that every one would do his part, in theſe *Ceremonies*, *i. e.*

1. That every private Chriſtian, in his daily private prayers, would importune the Throne of mercy, in the behalf of the Church, that it may be daily more and more purged from all droſſe, and freed from ſpot, or wrincle, or any ſuch thing [r]; as alſo for his brethren, That the Lord would pleaſe to free them from ſuch burdens, as pierce unto the ſoul. And

[r] Ephes 5 27.

2. That thoſe who ſhall be called, either in *Parliament*, *Convocation*, or any *lawfull Aſſembly*, would *plead* as much for the purity and peace of the Church *openly*, as private Chriſtians do, or ſhould do in their *prayers privately*; modeſty, mildneſſe, humility, love, and peace alwayes obſerved. And therefore herein alſo your Honours ſhould labour *to be one*. And

Fifthly, In withſtanding zealouſly, and courageouſly, all errors, hereſies, ſuperſtitions, and whatſoever els might *diſturb*, & *diſtract* the *unity of Religion*. A covetous *old man*, going out of doors, and leaving his God (his gold) behinde him, commanded his *old wife*, who ſtaid at home, to let in none till his return, leſt he ſhould be rob'd, *Ino non ad fortunam quidem*; *No, not to Lady Fortune herſelf*, though

5. In rooting out of Popery and ſuperſtition.

though she should knock. O let the *fire* of your *zeal*, so consume all carnall state policy in your Honours, that though by probable arguments you should be perswaded, That if error, heresie, or Popery were tolerated, permitted, or winked at, the Commonwealth would prosper and flourish the more; and our Traffick, with forraign Nations of that Religion, would be more free; yet let not this promised, and flourishing Fortune, cause you to open the door to any such toleration, permission, or connivence[r].

See Doctor *Farley*, against toleration of Popery, *Fol.* 464 and 487.

Remember in generall, as the *Jacinth*, if it be rubbed with *lime*, is soon set on fire, but hardly quenched: and the *Adamant* and *iron* soon joyned, but hardly dissevered; and the coyn soon receiveth its stamp, but cannot loose it without melting: Even so, error and heresie are soon admitted, but hardly rooted out; and therefore *yee should be one*, in withstanding constantly, and courageously, all heresies, errors, and superstitious vanities.

More particularly, Remember (for I know your Honours are not ignorant of it, as is evident by your *Proclamations*, *Statutes*, *Acts*, and *Edicts* to that purpose) that *Popery* is a great *plague unto us*, and a most *pernicious doctrine* in *it self*; and therefore *be yee one*, in the rooting up, weeding out, and extirpating thereof. I will give unto your Honours, and all who shall *peruse* this *imperfect*, and *impolished piece*, a *Character* of *Popery*; and then *Ex ungue Leonem*, let all the world judge thereby, whether that devillish doctrine be to be tolerated, admitted, permitted, winked at, or embraced, by any Church or State, which desireth prosperity, peace, religion, and safety.

The Character of Popery.

Popery is a Superstitious, Idolatrous, Supercilious, Pernicious, Devillish, Theevish, Cruell, Heretical, Insolent, and Derogatory doctrine. Hence I thus argue,

Argument.

That Religion which is superstitious, idolatrous, supercilious, pernicious, &c. Is not to be admitted, permitted, favoured, harboured, and embraced, by any Christian Church or State, which desires to be preserved, protected, prospered, and blessed by God; but rather by all means to be suppressed, rooted out, and extirpated, root and branch.

But Popery is such a Religion. *Ergo.*

The Papists I know will not put me to prove the *Major* (that being

being *luce meridiana clarior, as true as Gospel*, as the Proverb saith) and therefore I passe by that. But *una voce*, they cry out, The *Minor* is false, and dare me to prove it; which I will do particularly, and plainly, but briefly, (although I could both adde more particulars, and more enlarge these then I have) that the world, and all them who view this *Treatise*, may see, that I do them no wrong.

First, I say, *Popery*, is a *Superstitious Religion*; for God will be worshipped, both for the matter, and manner, as himself hath prescribed in his Word[s]. But the Papists say, That God must be worshipped, according to the Traditions, Ceremonies, and constitutions of the Roman Church; and that the Constitutions of the Pope do equall in value the Gospel of Christ, *Dist.* 15. *cap. Sicut.* and *Dist.* 19. *cap. In Canonicis*, and *Dist.* 20. *cap. de Libellis*. And therefore we may well say, That *Popery* is a *superstitious doctr*[t]. 1. Popery is a Superstitious Religion. [s] Matth 15 9. and Ioh 4. 24. [t] Ezech. 20. 18.

Secondly, *Popery* is an *Idolatrous Religion*. Note here these things, *Viz.* 2. Popery is an Idolatrous Religion.

1. What *Idolatry* is? Namely, To give the honour, worship, and service, which is due only unto God, to a Creature, whether good or bad, holy or prophane. And Idolatry defined.

2 How manifold Idolatry is, two wit, twofold, *i. e.* 1. Internall, and Mentall, and is forbidden in the first Commandment. And 2. External, and visible, and is forbidden in the second Commandment. And Idolatry divided.

3. That both this Definition, and Division of Idolatry do agree with the Church of *Rome*. If any doe question this, I referre him to our famous *Featley*, *Fol.* 490. 491, 492. where this trueth is proved, and painted out to the life, amply, fully, and faithfully. I will for your Honours satisfaction adde a word or two. The Scripture teacheth, That the worship of Images is a thing abominable[u], and expressly forbidden[w] also, That the holy Spirit calleth Images, *Teachers of lyes, and vanities*[x]. And therefore in no wise to be allowed in the Temples of Christians. But the Papists teach, That the worship of Images is well pleasing unto God, and very necessary, and profitable for the Church. And that Images, are the lay mens Books: He therefore that teacheth the contrary, is accursed *. The Word of God teacheth, that Christ Jesus our Redeemer, [u] Levit. 26. 1. and Deut. 27. 15. [w] Exod. 20 4. and Deut. 5. 8, 9. [x] Iere. 10. 8. Hab. 2. 18. * *Concil. Trid. sess* 9.

Redeemer, by the perfect ſacrifice of himſelf once offered upon the Croſſe, for the putting away of ſin, hath ſo reconciled the faithfull unto God his Father, that there now remaineth no more ſacrifice for ſin [y]. But the Papiſts teach, that the Maſſe is a Sacrifice for the remiſſion of the ſins both of the quick, and dead *. Is not *Popery* then an *Idolatrous Religion*? Yea, perhaps themſelves will not deny it; for *Gregory de Valentia*, the prime of the Schoolemen profeſſedly pleads for *Idolatry*, and endeavours to prove it to be lawfull, out of the words of Saint *Peter* [z]. *When yee walked in unlawfull, and abominable Idolatries; Quid attinebat ita determinatè cultus ſimulacrorum illicitos notare. Si omnino nullos ſimulacrorum cultus licitos eſſe cenſuiſſet* [a]? *What need* (ſaith he) *Saint Peter deterre us from unlawfull Idolatries, if ſome kinde of Idolatry were not lawfull?* And therefore it is evident, that *Popery* is an *Idolatrous doctrine*. And

y Heb 9. 12. 26 and 10. 12 18.

* *Concil. Trid. ſeſſ. 6. Can. 2.*

z 1 Pet. 4. 3.

a *Greg. de Valent. de cult. imag.*

4. Note, That *Popiſh Maſſe* is *Idolatry*, and therefore their *Religion* is *Idolatrous*. *Bellarmine* himſelf moſt truly obſerves. That although all the other controverſies could be compoſed between Proteſtants, and Papiſts, yet in this, it were impoſſible for them to be reconciled. *Quod illi Miſſam ſuam diviniſſimum Dei cultum, nos horrendum idolatriam judicamus* [b]. Becauſe Papiſts ſay, That their Maſſe, is a moſt ſacred ſacrifice, and divine worſhip, But Proteſtants affirm it to be moſt horrible idolatry. By this it appears to every ſeeing eye, That *Popiſh Maſſe*, is no *excrement*, but an *eſſentiall part* of *Popiſh Religion*, and conſequently, If their *Maſſe* be *Idolatry*, then their *Doctrine* is *Idolatrous*. Now for the proof of the Antecedent, your Honours may pleaſe to take notice, That there are two kinds of *Prieſts*, which offer ſacrifice for ſin; the one after the *order* of *Aaron*, the other after the *order* of *Melchiſedech*. They differ thus, Of the *order of Aaron*, there are many, one ſucceeding another; of the *order of Melchiſedech*, only Chriſt, who is an eternall Prieſt, and his Sacrifice of eternall virtue. Now *Popiſh Maſſe Prieſts* (which ſay they offer Chriſt in Sacrifice for the ſins of men) are not *of Aaron*, for that order ceaſed with the death of Chriſt; nor *of Melchiſedech*, for of this order, there is none but only Chriſt; and therefore they are *Baals*, *Antichriſts*, *Idolatrous Prieſts*, and conſequently their *ſacrifice* of the *Maſſe* is *Idolatry*, and their *Religion Idolatrous*. And

b *Bell. Tom. 1. de Euc. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Popery* is a *ſupercilious Religion*: for the holy Scriptures teach, That our good works, becauſe they are imperfect, can deſerve nothing at Gods hand[c]. But the Papiſts teach, That our good works deſerve the grace of God, and everlaſting life: alſo, that men may do works of ſupererogation, *i.e.* over and above thoſe which the Law of God commandeth, whereunto the doers thereof are not bound; and they are available to help others. [d] And therefore we may truely ſay, That it is a *proud* and *ſupercilious Religion*. And

3. Popery is a Supercilious Religion.

[c] Eſa. 64. 6 & Luk. 17 10.

[d] Bell de Purgat. Lib 1. cap 8. conſ. r. col. fol. 175.

Fourthly, *Popery* is a *pernicious Religion*, where it is countenanced, permitted and embraced; and that both to *Princes* and *People*.

4. Popery is a pernicious Religion.

Firſt, To *Princes*; and that in many regards: namely,

1. The Pope and Popiſh Clergy chalenge freedome from their power. The Scripture indeed teacheth, *That every ſoul ought to be ſubject to the higher powers*, which are the Magiſtrates[e]: But the Papiſts teach, That Eccleſiaſticall perſons are not ſubject to the ſecular power, or politick Magiſtrate, but all ought to be ſubject to the *Pope*, who compareth *himſelf* to the *ſunne*, and the *Emperour* to the *moon*: and therefore Emperours and Kings, in token of ſubiection and obedience, do kiſſ: his feet[f]. And

Popery moſt pernicious to Princes.

[e] Rom. 13. 1. & 1 Pet. 2. 13.

[f] Lib. Decret. Gregor. Tit. 33.

2. The Pope hath power over Princes, and (as he ſaith) is of greater authority and power in a Kingdome, then the lawfull King and Prince thereof: as was obſerved by a Fryar, who ſaith, That it was not without cauſe that *Malchus* (whoſe eare *Peter* cut off) was the high Prieſts ſervant, ſeeing that *Malchus* ſignifieth a *King*: From whence he collects (as the Papiſts indeed would have it, and which Princes ſhould obſerve and mark) *That as* Malchus *was ſervant to the high Prieſt, ſo the Regall Majeſty of Kings and Emperours is ſubject to the power of Prieſts*. [g] And *Dorman* ſaid, *The Pope is the head, and Kings and Emperours are the feet*: And *Staniſlaus Orichovius in Chimera* ſaith, *The Emperours Maieſty is ſo far inferiour to the Pope in dignity, as a creature is inferiour unto God*. Whence our famous *Tindale* deliberately and conſiderately ſaid, *Popiſh Kings are but ſhadowes, vain names, and idle things, having nothing to do in the world, but when the Pope needeth their help*. And

[g] Menor. fol. 49

3. The Pope challengeth power to excommunicate Princes, and to cast them out of the Church; as Pope *Clement* excommunicated our *Henry* the eighth, and Pope *Pius* 5. our *Elizabeth*. And

4. The Pope hath power (as he saith) to depose Princes, and to cast them out of their thrones, and to dispose of their royalties and regall seats as him listeth. Pope *Benedict* 9. desiring to pull down *Henry* 3. Emperour, and to raise up *Peter* King of Hungary, sent him the Crown of the Empire, with this verse.

Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam:

The Rock to Peter gave Rome the Town,
The Pope to thee Peter gives the Crown.

Thus Pope *Zachary*, by the consent or conspiracy of the Nobles of France deposed *Chilpericus*, the true, naturall, and liege Prince of that Realm, and placed *Pipin* in his room. And Pope *Boniface* the eighth, because he could not have the Treasury of France at his command, endeavoured with all his both worldly and ecclesiastical puissance, to remove *Philip* the French King from his estate; and under his Bulls, or Letters patents, conveyed the same solemnly unto *Albertus* King of the Romans. And therefore we do the Papists no wrong, in saying *Popery is a pernicious doctrine to Princes.* And

5. *Popery* teacheth *Regicide*, and *King-killing*. 1. *Bernardus de monte Politiano*, a Dominick Fryar, poysoned *Henry* Emperour of Lucemberg, in the Sacrament. *John Chastell* attempted the death of King *Henry* the fourth of France, and *Jaques Clement* effected it. Thus private papists and priests have practised Regicide. 2. The Jesuites, the prime pillars of popery, do maintain it. The popish Divines at Salamanca held, *That the Catholiks in Ireland, who did fight against our Queen* Elizabeth, *were by no construction Rebells.* And this was also thus resolved by *John de Sequenza*, *Emanuel de Royas*, *Jasper de Mena*, and *Peter de Osorio*, professors of Divinity in the Colledge of Jesuites there. And *John Chastell* confessed that the argument of *King-killing*

was

was ordinary among the Jesuites: and the aphorismes of *Emanuel Sa* confirm as much; and likewise a book composed by the principall of the Seminary at Rhemes, wherein it was affirmed and maintained, *That it was lawfull in certain cases for the Subject to kill the King.* 3. The Pope himself hath winked at such offendors: for many of those who had a hand in the Gun-powder plot fled for that fact into Italy, but not any of them was ever questioned, reproved, punished, or called to an account for it by the Pope. Yea, fourthly, such Judasites and Traitours have been praised by the Pope; as we see pope *Sixtus* 5. who made an oration in praise and commendation of the Fryars faith, who murdered *Henry* 3. of France. And fifthly, the popes have practised it by their agents: for *Innocent* the fourth, after he had excommunicated the Emperour *Frederick*, corrupted one in Apulia to give him poyson; of the which the Emperour recovering hee afterwards hired his bastard sonne *Manfredus* to poyson him, whereof he died. And *Alexander* the third writ unto the Soldane, that if he would live in quiet, he should by some sleight murder the Emperour; and to that end sent him the Emperours picture. And thus by some gradations and steps it evidently appears, That the *popish doctrine* alloweth of *Regicide* and *King-killing.*

Iesuit. Catech. lib. 3. fol 204. p. 2 fol 205.

Rog. Apol. p. 55.

Rog. Apol. p. 67.

Rog. Apol. p. 73.

6. To fill up the mystery of iniquity, *popery* teacheth, That it is meritorious to murder those princes, who will not take the popes part in the favouring and furthering of his idolatries and superstitions; witnesse Cardinall *Como* his instructions to *Parry*, and *Sixtus* his oration (mentioned before) in defense of the Jacobine that murdered *Henry* the third. I will conclude this with a story of our own; King *James* being admonished by Queen *Elizabeth*, a little before the coming of the *Spanish Armado*, to take heed of the Scottish papists and the King of Spain, answered pleasantly, *That he looked for no other favour of the Spaniards, then that which* Polyphemus *promised to* Ulysses, *To devour him last after all his fellowes were devoured.* Certainly, wofull and wretched experience hath proved this true, That those princes who embrace and entertain

Popery, are not onely in a miserable slavery, but also in as great danger of their dearest lives, as any private person, if they will not in all things comply with, and be obedient and subject unto the Pope, that man of sinne. And therefore our late Prelate (now I hope with the Lord) who was never corrupted with the superstitions of the times, boldly concludes, *That Jesuited Papists cannot be good subjects.*

Dr. Daven. Quæst. 17. de term. fol. 81. *Jesuitas pontificii non possunt esse boni subditi.*

Secondly, *Popery* is a *pernicious doctrine* to *People*, as well as to *Princes*; and that in a threefold regard: to wit,

Popery most pernicious to people.

1. In respect of their estates: for *faith* (they say) *is not to be kept with Heretickes*; and the Pope can dispense with, and absolve from all covenants, contracts, bonds, and bargains made with such. And

2. In respect of their bodies and lives: For the Papists say, That it is lawfull to violate promise and oath, in favour of the Romane Church: as it was concluded in the Councell of Constance, and with the death of *John Hus* and *Hierom* of Prague confirmed, contrary to the publike faith and safe-conduct granted unto them from the Councell. And

3. In respect of their soules, and that many wayes; namely,

1. By teaching people ignorance. The Scripture teacheth us, that the ignorance thereof is the cause and mother of errors [h] and therefore we are commanded both in the old and new Testaments, to read, meditate, and search the holy Scriptures [i]. But the Papists teach us, that ignorance is the mother of Devotion; and that to keep Religion safe, it is needfull to forbid the lay or secular men the reading of the holy Scriptures, seeing it is the cause of many heresies [k]. In the County of Burgundy in France is an University of long continuance, and therein a Colledge of *Judasites* (or, as they call themselves, *Jesuites*) who fearing lest the reformed doctrine might creep in upon them, have not onely debarred the people of the Protestants books, but also expressly forbidden them to talk of God, either in good sort or bad [l]. And

[h] Matth. 22. 19.

[i] Deut. 6. 7. & 12. 32. & 17. 19. Isa. 8. 20. Joh. 5. 39. Act. 17. 11. 2 Tim. 3. 15.

[k] Bell. de verb. Dei l. 2. c. 15. & 16. cens. col. f. 19.

[l] Heylin Michroc.

2. By permitting, favouring, and conniving at fornication and uncleannesse. The Scripture teacheth us, *That marriage is honourable amongst all men* [m]; and, *that it is better to marry then to burn* [n];

[m] Heb. 13. 4.

burn[n]; yea, that to forbid marriage is *a doctrine of Devils*[o]: But the Papists teach, That matrimony is a carnall estate, and therefore with such severity to be forbidden to the Clergy, that it is more tolerable for a Prelate, or Ecclesiasticall person to live in fornication, then lawfully to marry, according to the Law of God: or, that it is a greater wickednesse for an Ecclesiasticall person to marry, then to commit fornication: and *Bellarmine*, who boldly averres this, gives this base reason for the confirming of it, Because he which is married is made unable to keep his vow, which he that committeth fornication is not[p]. And this *holy doctrine* he learned from his *most holy Father* Pope *Nicolas* the first, who prohibited the Clergy marriage, saying, *That it was more honest to have to do with many women privately, then to marry one wife openly.* Whence a Priest of Placentia, being accused to have wife and children, was deprived of his benefice; but proving the said woman to be another mans wife, and onely his concubine, he was again restored[q]. As this doctrine hath been taught by erring and infallible Popes, so also by such Councels: for in the first Councell of Toledo (held in the reigns of the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*) this Canon was agreed upon for the keeping of Concubines. *Caterum is qui non habet uxorem, & pro uxore concubinam habet, à communione non repellatur, tamen ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris, aut concubinæ (sit ei placuerit) sit conjunctione contentus*: that is, He is not to be debarred from the Communion, as unworthy thereof, who hath no wife, but in stead of one keeps a Concubine, if that he do not defile himself with many women, but content himself with one wife, or one woman, or one concubine. And about two hundred years after, *Isodore* (as *Gratian* quoteth him in his Decrees Distinc. 34.) hath written hereof in these words, *Christiano non dicam plurimas, sed nec duas simul habere licitum est, nisi unam tantum, aut uxorem, aut certè, loco uxoris (si conjux deest) concubinam.* And thus we see, as ignorance, so also fornication and uncleanesse is taught to people, and permitted unto them, as though they were not prone enough thereunto of themselves by nature. And

[n] 1 Cor. 7. 9.
[o] 1 Tim. 4. 3.
[p] Bellar. de Matrimon. lib. 2. cap. 34.
[q] Heylin.

3. By teaching uncertainty of salvation, and thereby making men hang in suspence all the dayes of their lives, deprived of all

true comfort. The Word of God indeed teacheth us, That faith is not doubtfull, but assured of salvation, which it hath by the blood of Christ [r]. But the papists teach, That the particular iustification of men, and much more the salvation, is very uncertain; so that men must alwayes doubt of their salvation. And that not to doubt of the favour and grace of God is presumption [s]. Oh what greater mischief can be done unto religious and conscientious men, then thus to make them halt between heaven and hell, as altogether uncertain all their daies, whether they shall at last be everlastingly saved or damned. I will conclude this fourth mark of popish doctrine with this argument:

[r] Heb. 11. & Philip. 1. 11.

[s] Conc. Trident. Sess. 6. Can 13. Confession f. l. 56.

That *Religion* which teacheth men *ignorance* of divine and saving truths, and the sacred Word and Will of God, and *fornication* and uncleanesse, and *uncertainty of their future eternall estate and condition*, is a most pernicious and pestilent doctrine in regard of peoples souls; because *ignorance* is the mother of *disobedience*; *fornication* the *defiler* and *destroyer* of the soul; and *the uncertainty of salvation*, the *depriver of the heart* of all true peace and comfort:

But *popery* is such a *Religion*, as hath been proved:

Therefore it is a *pernicious* and *pestilent doctrine* in regard of *mens souls*. And thus we see, That *popery* is a *perillous Religion* both to *princes* and *people*: wherefore let both prince, peers, and people, *be one* in the rooting out of *popery*, and all *popish superstitions* out of the Land. And

5. Popery is a devillish doctrine.

5. *Popery* is a *devilish doctrine*, 1. *Tim.* 4. 13. For the forbidding to marry, and the commanding to abstain from meats for conscience sake, which are there called *Doctrines of Devills*, are both expressly taught and commanded by the Church of Rome. And

6. Popery is a pilfering religion.

6. *Popery* is a *theevish doctrine*, and a *robbing Religion*. For

1. It robs people of the sacred Word of God, the food of our souls, which they must not enjoy in a known tongue. And

2. It robs people of the Cup in the Eucharist; for the papists teach, That the Sacrament ought to be given and dispensed in bread, and in wine to the priests onely; but to the Laity the bread alone ought to be administred [t]. And

[t] Concil. Trid. Sess. 5.

7. *Popery*

7. *Popery* is a *cruell doctrine*, and *bloody religion*; witneſſe the Spaniſh Inquiſition, the Martyrs in Queen *Maries* dayes, and the bloudy perſecutions, maſſacres, and treaſons practiſed by the pope, and his agents, in all places where he hath authority, upon thoſe who will not yeeld to his idolatry, ſuperſtition, and Antichriſtian power. And 7. Popery is a cruell religion.

8. *Popery* is an *hereticall doctrine*, and a maſſe or lump of errours. For 8. Popery is an hereticall religion.

1. From the Manichees they have learnt theſe hereſies, *viz.*

Firſt, as the Manichees forbad lawfull marriage, but allowed fornication, ſo do the papiſts. And as the Manichees thought not Marriage in their Laity unlawfull, but onely in their prieſts and prelates; even ſo do the papiſts. And

Secondly, as the Manichees received and adminiſtred the holy myſteries under one kinde; ſo alſo do the papiſts. And

Thirdly, as the Manichees abſtained from fleſh, and yet in their Faſts uſed all manner of delicates, and ſtrange fruits, with ſundry ſorts of Spice, in great abundance: ſo likewiſe do the papiſts[u]. And

[u] *Vide Aug. epiſt. 19 & 74. & Hæreſ. 71. & Contr. Fauſtum, lib. 32. cap. 19. De maior. Manich lib. 2. ca. 15.*

2. From *Elixay* the heretike, the pope hath learnt to celebrate divine Service in an unknown tongue; for that was his hereſie[x]. And

[x] *Epiphan. hæreſ. 14.*

3. From *Montanus* the heretike, the pope learnt to preſcribe his rules of Faſts; for he firſt limited times of Faſting[y]. And

[y] *Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 18.*

4. From the *Collyridians*, he was inſpired to worſhip the Virgin *Mary*. And

5. From the *Cainites*, to invocate Angels. And

6. From the *Carpocratians*, to worſhip the images of Chriſt, and S. *Paul*; and therfore we ſlander the Church of *Rome* but with a matter of truth, when we ſay, *That her religion is hetical.* And

9. *Popery* is an *inſolent religion*, teaching thoſe Tenents, which do flatly and directly, thwart the truth of God. For 9 Popery is an Inſolent religion.

1. The Scripture teacheth us, That the uſe of ſtrange Tongues is unprofitable in the Church, to the ignorant auditory; and therfore they who teach, pray, or ſing in the Church, ought to uſe the vulgar Tongue, underſtood of the people, for the edification, exhortation, & conſolation of all[a]. But the papiſts, contrary here unto

[a] 1 Cor. 14. 3, 6, 7, 8, &c.

unto teach, That the worship of God ought to be used in the Latine tongue: and that it is not onely unprofitable, but also hurtfull for the common people, to have the holy Scriptures read or sung in the Church in the Vulgar tongue[b]. And

2. The Scripture teacheth us, That that which entreth into the mouth defileth not a man[c] all meats being clean creatures, and allowed to be eaten by the faithfull with thanksgiving[d]. But contrary hereunto, the Papists teach, That it is not lawfull for a Christian, under pain of mortall sinne, to eat of all sorts of meats, on all dayes, and times; As in Lent, the four Ember weeks, Fridayes, Saturdayes, and the Vigils of some Saints[e]. And

3. The Scripture teacheth us, That Antichrist as God, sitteth in the Temple of God, attributing to himself that which is proper to God[f], and that the place of his sitting, is the great City which hath seven hills, and raigneth over the Kings of the earth[g]. But contrary hereunto (because this toucheth them to the quick) the papists teach, That Antichrist is to come of the race of the Jews, of the Tribe of *Dan*; and that the place of his seat shall be in *Jerusalem*[h]: And therefore we may truely say, *That Popery is an insolent religion*. And

Popery is a derogatory doctrine, and that both in regard of God, Christ, the Word, and Faith.

1. Popery is a religion which detracts, and derogates from God the Father; for the Scripture saith, *That we ought to serve God alone, who is the Creator and Governour of the world*[i]; But the papists teach, That we ought not serve God alone, but also the Saints, because they are Patrons of Kingdoms, People, Cities, Societies, and Infirmities[k]. And

2. Popery detracts and derogates much from Christ, and that many wayes, *viz.*

First, from his Kingly Office, while they deny him to be the immediate Head of the Church, making the Virgin *Mary* the Queen of Heaven, as God the Father is the King, and giving unto her the one half of that heavenly Kingdom. And

Secondly, from his Prophetical Office: here note, That the Papists deny Christ our Prophet to be come in the flesh; and that

In

[b] *Bell. de verbo Dei, lib. 2. ca. 15*
[c] Matth. 15. 11.
[d] 1 Tim 4. 4. Tit 1. 15.
[e] *Dist. 1. cap. Statuimus.*
[f] 2 Thess 2. 4.
[g] Rev. 17. 9. 18.
[h] *Bell. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 3 cap. 12. & 13.*
Popery is a derogatory doctrine.
[i] Matth 4. 10.
[k] *Bell. de sanct. beat lib 1. ca 12. Cons. col fol. 230.*

In their Transubſtantiation: for Chriſt our Prophet, was conceived of the holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin *Mary*; but their Chriſt is not begotten, but created; whence they ſay, That the ſacrificing Prieſt in the celebration of the Maſſe creates his Creator. Again, Chriſt our Prophet, was born of the fleſh of *Mary*, and the ſeed of *David*; but the Papiſts Chriſt is created of bread. Again, our Chriſt is the ſame to day, and to morrow, and for ever. But the Papiſts Chriſt, was not yeſterday, or the day or hour before the conſecration of the hoaſt. And

Thirdly, From his Prieſtly office, while they deny him to be the alone propitiatory ſacrifice for ſin, and the only Mediator, and Interceſſor, between God and man. For they ſay,

1. That Chriſt is the propitiatory ſatisfaction, and ſacrifice for ſin primarily, and principally; but ſecundarily, our ſatisfactory works in this life, and purgatory after this life, ſatisfie the juſtice of God for our ſins, diametrally contrary to Scripture, which ſaith, *Lib. 4. ſent diſt. 17. 18.*

1. That the bloud of Chriſt purgeth us from all our ſins; and therefore there is nothing left for Purgatory to purge. And

2. That Chriſt δι ἑαυτοῦ, by himſelf (*Heb.* 1. 3.) purged us, and neither by Purgatory, nor by our own works; and therefore the vulgar Latine Bible, which is only with the Papiſts authentical, hath expunged thoſe words. And

3. That as Chriſt purgeth us by himſelf, not by others, from all our ſins, not from ſome; ſo alſo perfectly, and imperfectly [l]. And [l] Heb. 7. 25. *Lib. 4 ſent diſt. 45. in Bible Pariſ. in proſa Miſſæ de Aſcenſ.*

2. They deny Chriſts interceſſion to be ſufficient, while they pray unto the Saints, to pray unto God for them. And

3. Popery detracts much from faith; for the Scripture teacheth, That we are juſtified by faith in Chriſt, without the works of the Law [m]. But the Papiſts teach, that not faith only, but works alſo do juſtifie us [n]. And [m] Gen. 15. 6. Gal. 2. 16. Rom. 1. 24. 28. and 4. 3. 23 24. [n] *Conc. Trid. ſeſſ 6. Can. 11.*

4. Popery detracts much from the Word of God. The Scriptures teach, That they were dictated by God himſelf, and have ſufficient authority in themſelves, and contain all neceſſary doctrine to piety, and ſalvation [o]. But the Papiſts teach, That although the holy Scripture be the Word of God, yet it ſhould have [o] 2 Pet. 1. 19, 20. 2 Tim. 3 15, 16, 17

no authority were it not for the approbation of the Church; and that it is an imperfect, and maimed doctrine, which containeth not doctrine sufficient to piety, and salvation, but must be supplied by unwritten Traditions p. I will conclude this with a testimony or two of their own. A Papist was driven by *Tindall* in disputation blasphemously to say, *We were better to be without the Law of God, then the Law of the Pope* q. And *Sylvester Prierias* Master of Pope *Leos* Pallace, in his Book *Contra Lutherum*, thus writeth, *Indulgentiæ authoritate Scripturæ non innotuere nobis, sed authoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Romanumque Pontificium, quæ major est. The pardons for sin granted by the Pope, are not warranted unto us by the authority of the Scripture, but of the Church, and Pope of Rome, whose authority is greater, then that of the Scripture.* Mark it well. And a little after, *A doctrina Romanæ ecclesiæ, & Romani Pontificis, sacra Scriptura robur & authoritatem trahit*; that is, *The Scripture draweth all its authority, efficacy, and power, from the authority of the Church, and Pope of Rome*: And therefore [oh horrible blasphemy] if the Pope would not licence the Bible, and grant it to be authentical, it were but as a dead letter, not to be regarded at all. And therefore, seeing Popery is so derogatory a doctrine, both in regard of God, Christ, the Word, and Faith; Oh let your Honours, who *Manibus pedibusque* contend for the glory of God, the honour of Christ, the purity and perfection of the Scriptures, the common Faith, and pure profession of the Gospel, continue *to be one*, in weakning the power of Antichrist, by denying him all priviledge, and power, and his doctrine all favour, freedom, or friendship amongst us.

p *Bell. de verbo Dei non script. lib. 4.*

q *In vita Tindal.*

And thus your Honours see, *Wherein you should be one*; to wit, In relieving the oppressed, in punishing the wicked, in fast rooting, and re-establishing of Religion, in taking away of all offensive Ceremonies, and in rooting out, and removing from us, (as much as in you lyes) all errors, heresies, schismes, superstitions, idolatry, and popery.

Objection. But it may be some will say, That as, *Aristotle* sets out a *happy man*, *Tully* an *Orator*, *Plato* a *Common-wealth*, the *Italian* his *Courtier*, but could never finde any such as they described; so I have portrayed such an *Union* and *Unanimity*, as can scarce ever be found,

found, or probably be hoped for, or exſpected in ſo *great an Aſſembly.*

Bu. let not this be any bridle to keep you back, but rather a ſpur to prick you forward, to an earneſt deſire, and endeavour thereof, remembring, *Anſwer.*

1. That as the *Phenix* is the more deſired, becauſe ſeldom ſeen, and the *Gem* more deſired, becauſe very rare, and the ſtones of *Arabia* of high price, becauſe exceeding ſtrange; even ſo the rarer ſuch an *Unity* and *Union* is amongſt ſo *many*, the more remarkable, notable, and famous it will be to all ſucceeding ages, and make the Corners of fame eccho, and ſound forth your praiſes on earth, when your ſouls enjoy the joyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. And

2 Endeavour earneſtly after this *Unity* and *Unanimity*, in the advancing of the truth, and true Religion, remembring, That Chriſt hath entreated his Father, and your Father, to work this holy Unity of minde, opinion, and ſpirit, in you, as *Alexander* the Great, commanding his ſouldiers to aſcend a Mountain dangerous, and full of Snow, and perceiving them timerous, leaped off his horſe, and led them the way, and then they courageouſly followed. So your Honours (to your great comfort, and encouragement) may pleaſe to obſerve, how your Captain, and Commander the Lord Chriſt, hath led you the way, and given you an example, and encouragement to endeavour after this *Unity*, by his prayer unto God for it. For whether we conceive theſe words (*Father I pray, that they may be one*) as the Lords will explained to us, or as his petition offered to his Father (who is ſo well pleaſed in him[r], as he heard him in his requeſts[s]; and will deny him nothing, for then he could not have been a ſufficient Saviour) It ſhews one and the ſame thing unto us; *viz.* That all the living members of Chriſts Church, who are aſſembled for the purity, and peace of the Church, according to his will, and deſire muſt be (and by vertue of this his prayer ſhall be) conjoyned in one holy, and ſpirituall bond of Unity. [r] Matth. 3. 17. [s] Heb. 5. 7.

And thus much for the ſecond thing we obſerved; to wit, *Wherein your Honours ſhould be one.* Now The means whereby the Parliamentaries may be One.

Thirdly, We have in order to preſcribe the *Means*, whereby you

you may be one; but because they are divers, I will therefore be the briefer in them.

The *Meanes* are these; namely,

Means 1. First, Labour that you may all be the faithfull of the Lord, and the Lords faithfull ones; and then he will make you one for the good of his Church, as is implicitely promised in this His prayer, as was shewed before. The members of the body will admit of no fractions, divisions, rents, nor jarres amongst themselves; but have all one joynt desire, and endeavour for the good of the whole; because that good which is communicated to the whole, is extended to all, and every each member of the body: Even so, if all the members of your Honourable Assembly, be the faithfull members of Christ, then he will so unite your hearts, affections, desires, and endeavours, that as one man you shall all labour after *this holy Union of truth*.

Means 2. Secondly, Because either Christ must work this *holy Unity of Truth* in you, or you cannot have it, another means to procure it is prayer unto him; and that both by the *Commons* and *Commonwealth* for *you*, and *by you* for *your selves*. But I enlarge neither of these, because in my *pious mans practise in Parliament time* (which I put forth at the beginning of the Parliament, to teach the faithfull of the Land their duty in the time, and for the continuance, of this Honourable *Assembly*) I have largely, and amply shewed and handled the *first* of these; *viz.* How the *Land* should assist your *Lordships* with their prayers unto the Lord of glory for you; and by and by, I shall touch upon the *second*; *viz.* How your Honours ought to petition the Throne of grace, for this grace of *truth*, and *unity of Spirit* amongst your selves.

Means 3. Thirdly, Let your meeting, convening, and assembling together be in the Name of Christ; and then (according to his promise) he will be present with you [t]: I need not enlarge this, because *Vincentius* himself confesseth [u], That when the Rulers or Governours of a City, Church, or Land, are gathered together, for the good and benefit, of the City, Church, or Land; they are then gathered together in the Name of Christ, who (according to his promise) will be in the midst of them. But your Honours are thus convened, and gathered together; and therefore in the name,

[t] Matth. 18 20.

[u] *Serm. lyon. pag.* 544.

name, power, ſpirit, and vertue of Chriſt; and conſequently he will be in the midſt of you; that is, *he will be preſent with you, and preſident amongſt you.* Wherefore, if as you are aſſembled by the power of Chriſt, with an unanimous accord, deſire, and endeavour, you make his glory, the advancement of Religion, the peace of the Church, and proſperity of the Common-wealth, your prime, and principall end and aym, then Chriſt will be both *preſent with you*, and *preſident amongſt you.* And ſo this ſhall be a *third means* to procure this *holy Union*, and *Unitie of Truth.*

Fourthly, Another excellent means to procure this grace, is a ſerious, and ſedulous animadverſion of the benefit which will redound thereby, both unto our Church and State. O remember, for the Lords ſake, remember, That if ye *be one* in minde, affection, opinion, and ſpirit, and that you all minde, and ſpeak, and deſire, one and the ſame thing; that then peace, and joy ſhall be heard in our ſtreets; righteouſneſſe ſhall break forth, and ſhine in our Church; proſperity and plenty ſhall attend our Common-wealth, and both Church and State ſhall have cauſe to bleſſe you, and to bleſſe the Lord for you, and daily to invocate the Throne of grace, for a bleſſing upon you both in body and ſoul, who by your *Unity*, *Union*, and *Unanimity*, have been under God a means to turn our *ſorrow* into *joy*, our *fear* into *hope*, our *ruines* into *repaires*, our *darkneſſe* into *light*, our *warre* into *peace*, our *contention* into *concord*, and our *diſcord*, *differences*, *diviſions*, and *jarres*, into a *ſweet harmony* and *agreement*, both in *Church*, and *State*. *Means* 4.

Fifthly, Another *means* is a continuall remembrance, That all relations, reſemblances, types, and figures, require this at your hands; *viz. That you ſhould be one in the promoting of this holy Unity of truth.* Remember, *Means* 5.

1. The Birds which breed in *Bohemia* are of the ſame colour in their age, that they were of in the ſhell; the fineſt Chriſtall never changeth colour, and the clear Diamond remaineth alwayes in one eſtate. And therefore be yee like the *clear Chriſtall*, and *gliſtering Diamond*, alwayes *one in affection* unto the truth, and *in endeavour* for the eſtabliſhing thereof. And

2. Call to minde, That God made all mankinde of one man.

August lib 12 de Civit. Dei. Ca. 21

x Phil. morn. plef. de verit Rel. pag 21.

to teach us how acceptable *Unity* in *many* is unto him[u]; whence came that *Axiome*, *Multitudo procedit ab unitate*; many springs from one[x]; that is, the multitude of men now in the world came all from one man; and therefore *be yee* (although *many*, yet) *one in minde*, and judgement. And

3. Remember, That the *Land* represented by you, is but *one body*; and therefore *be yee one* in your endeavours, for the good thereof. And

4. That the *Body* of this *Land* hath but *one Head* over it, *viz.* The *King*, and *one Heart* in it, which is your Honours; and therefore be most *unanimous* for the honour of your *Head*, and the welfare of your *Body*. And

5. Remember, That you have all but *one end*, and *one aym*; that is, You are all of you elected, and called to this *Assembly*, for the glory of your God, the honour of your King, the welfare of his people, the peace and purity of the Church, the punishing of offenders, the reforming of abuses, and the taking away of all polluted, and pernicious doctrines, and practises from amongst us. And then the remembrance hereof, will be a *means* to make *you one*. And

6. Remember, That *God* your *Father* is but *one*, and it will be a *means* to make *you one*. And

7. That the *Church* your *Mother* is but *one body*, and in the body, must be no divisions[y]; because a Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand. The Law of Christs Kingdom is Religion, and therefore must be, as is *Jerusalem*, *at Unity in it self*. Oh remember your *one Mother*, and it will be a *means* to make *you one*. And

y 1 Cor. 12. 25.

8. Remember Truth, and Religion is but one; for how ever mens opinions are different and various (*Quot homines tot sententiæ*) and (like the branches of a growing Tree) encrease still as well in multitude, as bignesse; yea, like *Hydra*'s heads, from one cut off, many arise; yet *Truth* is but *One*, never fewer, never more; as the Ecliptique in the Zodiaque, the Center in a circle, the pole of the world, or a Mathematique line howsoever extended in length, yet in breadth exactly, and eternally indivisible. For there is but one Spirit, and one Faith, as there is but one

one God, and Father of all [z]; yea, were not this Truth ſimply one, and uncompounded, it could not be eternall, but muſt periſh; for, *Omnia compoſita corruptibilia*, ſaith the Philoſopher, only the ſimple unmixed Truth abids for ever. Certainly, a ſerious remembrance, That your Honours have but one Father, one Mother, one Religion, and one end, and aym in your Aſſembling together, would be a *means* to make *you one*, in and amongſt your ſelves. [z] Ephes. 4. 3. &c.

Sixthly, The *laſt means*, though not the *leaſt Materiall*, is a firm *League, Promiſe, Proteſtation*, or *vow*, made unto God, by, and amongſt *your ſelves*.

This *Means* is not of *Prometheus*, but of *Epimethius* his *preſcribing*; for it doth not *go before* as a *precept*, but *follows* your *preſident*; your Honours by divine aſſiſtance, and direction, having already taken this *courſe*, and uſed this *means*, of a *pious Proteſtation*, to knit cloſe, make one, and unite your ſelves. And therefore were it not for the ſatisfaction of ſome religious perſons, and expectation of my diligent Reader, I need not write a word hereof, your Honours being abundantly informed, and ſatisfied, concerning the nature, neceſſity, lawfulneſſe, and utility, of ſuch a holy *Vow, Proteſtation*, and *Covenant*. Now although a word or two hereof, is too much, and needleſſe, in regard of you, yet becauſe it is neceſſary in regard of ſome others, who have heard of your Honours unanimous *Proteſtation*; I muſt entreat you to permit me to handle a few particular Queres, and but a few (becauſe I would not long detain, or hold your Honours, in ſuch well known Truths) and I will be as *plain*, as *brief* in them, becauſe I ſpeak not to your Honours, who are already ſatisfied, and informed herein, but for the information and ſatisfaction of thoſe my Readers, who are as yet unſatisfied in the point.

Such a *Proteſtation* as I ſpeak of, may in a large ſenſe (as the Lord doth uſe the Word, *Gen.* 9. 15.) be called a *Covenant*, but properly a *Covenant* is not without a *Contract*, *Sive dato, & accepto*, *A condition*, *and a promiſe*; and therefore, I will not call it a *Covenant*, but a *Proteſtation*, *Vow*, or *Promiſe*, concerning which, theſe queres, or Interrogatories may be put, *Viz.*

What is to be *vowed, proteſted*, or *promiſed* unto God? *Queſtion.* 1.

To

Answer. To continue in, yea, to profeſſe, and maintain, the truth of the Goſpel, and to defend the Laws, Liberties, and Immunities of the Land, when not contrary unto the Goſpel, and Word of the Lord.

Queſtion 2. Who muſt make this *Proteſtation*, and *Promiſe*?

Anſwer 1. Firſt, The great repreſentative Body of the Land, (*viz.* Prince, Peers, and Parliamentarians) muſt begin, for the example, and encouragement of others. This being done already, to the *admiration*, and *exultation* of all true Subjects (becauſe beyond their *expectation*, and *thought*) I may, I hope without any ſhadow of *adulation* (though not without unſpeakable *conſolation*) affirm, That I confidently perſwade my ſelf, That as it was ſaid of *Joſiah*, *There was never any like him, before him*; ſo it may truly be ſaid of this *Parliament*, *That there was never any before it in our days, like unto it, for the good, and comfort both of our Church and State.*

Nehem 9 38. Exod. 29. 9, 11. 2 Chron. 34. 31, 32. Nehem 8. 9.

Anſw. 2. Secondly, The people muſt then make this *Proteſtation*, and *Promiſe*; For when *Magiſtrates* are *Leaders* in that which is good, *people* muſt therein be *followers*. When the *firſt* give good example, the *latter* muſt take it; When the *one* practiſe, and preſcribe, the *other* muſt obey; becauſe, as it belongs unto Magiſtrates and Parliaments to reform, and redreſſe abuſes; ſo unto people to aſſiſt, and be directed by them. *Magiſtrates* muſt maintain, and protect *Religion*, and the *Laws*; and *people* muſt defend their *religious Protectors*, and *Lawgivers*. And therefore as the *one* makes a *Vow*, *Proteſtation*, or *Promiſe*, for the defence of Church and State, ſo ought alſo the *other*.

Queſtion 3. When is ſuch a *Vow*, *Proteſtation*, or *Promiſe*, principally neceſſary?

Anſwer 1. Firſt, When a people generally are in perill, or danger to periſh, by the might, multitude, power, policy, ſtrength, or ſubtlety of their enemies; then it is requiſite that they ſhould *conjoyn* their *forces*, for their *joynt freedom*, and link themſelves faſt together by ſome ſuch ſolemn engagement, or *Proteſtation*, leſt the craft, and cunning wilineſſe of their enemies, ſhould make a breach, or diviſion amongſt them. And

Nehe. 9. 37, 38.

Anſwer 2. Secondly, When a people generally deſire ſome ſpeciall bleſſing from God, or the continuance of his love unto them, and

Nehe. 9. 37, 38.

Goſpel

Goſpel amongſt them; then people ſhould oblige, and knit themſelves by a ſtrict, and ſolemn *Proteſtation*, and *Vow*, to continue in the truth of the Goſpel, and the maintenance and profeſſion thereof, in purity, and ſincerity; and to root out all Popery, ſuperſtition, and idolatry, from amongſt them.

What neceſſity is there for us in this Land, at this time to take this, or the like Proteſtation? *Queſtion.* 4.

From the Preamble before the Proteſtation, theſe Reaſons may be collected; namely, *Anſwer.*

1. Becauſe the deſignes of the Prieſts, and Jeſuites, and other Adherents to the Sea of *Rome*, have of late been more boldly, and frequently put in practiſe, then formerly; to the undermining, and danger, of the ruine of the true reformed Religion amongſt us.

2. Becauſe ſome have endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamentall Laws of *England*, and *Ireland*, and to introduce the exerciſe of an Arbitrary, and Tyrannicall Government amongſt us.

3. Becauſe many illegall taxations have been levied, and laid, of late upon the Subjects, to their great grievance, and oppreſſion.

4. Becauſe divers innovations, and ſuperſtitions have of late been brought into our Church; and an Oath deviſed to make us practiſe, and perpetually to maintain them.

5. Becauſe many have been exiled, and the mouthes of many Miniſters ſtopt, for theſe Innovations, and Superſtitions, and other Ceremonies.

6. Becauſe ſome have endeavoured to raiſe, and foment jealouſies, between the King, and his people, *Ezra* 4. 13, 14, 15.

7. Becauſe Armies have been raiſed in *England*, and *Ireland*, of dangerous conſequence; to wit,

Firſt, For the making, or taking part with the Conſpirators, as hath been confeſſed, or diſcovered by ſome. And

Secondly, For the weakning of the Land, by a conſumption of the Treaſure thereof, making us thereby lye more open to forraign invaſion.

Wherefore ſhould both Prince, Peers, Parliamentaries, and People, or Commons, make ſuch a *Proteſtation*, or *Promiſe*, at ſuch *times*, or upon ſuch *occaſions*, as were named even now? *Queſtion.* 5.

Firſt, Becauſe our enemies uſually ſtrengthen, and binde themſelves *Anſw.* 1. Nehe. 6 17, 18.

ſelves, by wicked oaths, and vows to ruine us; and therefore, much more ſhould we, by religious and *pious Proteſtations*, and *promiſes*, aſſiſt one another in the reſiſting, and rooting out, *whom*, or *whatſoever* might endanger our lives, laws, liberties, or religion.

Anſw. 2. Secondly, Becauſe our ordinary reſolutions, and purpoſes, Nehe. 9. 10 29. are like *Sampſons* cords, which we break as faſt as ſtraws: and therefore we had need upon the occaſions mentioned, to help our frail purpoſes, with ſome firm Proteſtations, and Vows.

Anſw. 3. Thirdly, Becauſe the Lord only can do for us, what we deſire: He is wiſer, ſtronger, and more potent then all our enemies, he can deliver us from all evils; he can avenge us of all our adverſaries; he can turn away all his plagues; he can impart unto us any bleſſing, or grace, which we ſtand in need of; yea, he *can* do for us *above all we are able to ask or think*; but we are not certain that he *will*, except we enter into a holy Covenant with him, and by a firm *Proteſtation* and *Vow*, joyn our ſelves unto him, to ſerve, honour, obey, and worſhip him, with all our hearts, and with all our ſouls, all the dayes that we have to live.

Queſtion 6. How many things are obſervable in this *Proteſtation*, or *Vow*?

Anſwer. Theſe four, *Viz.* The *Matter*, *Manner*, *Intenſion*, and *Extenſion* thereof.

Firſt, The *Matter* of this *Proteſtation*, and *Vow*, muſt be *Chriſtian*, and *Religious*; reſpecting *God*, *Religion*, the *King*, the *Laws*, the *Liberties* of the *Subject*, the *Patriots* of the *Land*, the *enemies* of the *Church*, and *State*, and the *union* or *unity* of the *Kingdomes united*. Particularly,

1. This *Proteſtation* muſt reſpect the *Lord*, and that thus. Upon the *times*, and *occaſions* before mentioned, we muſt make ſolemn *Proteſtations* and *Vows* unto God, to worſhip, and ſerve him ſincerely, and purely, and to abſtain from all ſin, and iniquity (as much as in us lyes) totally, and perpetually, if he will be pleaſed to deliver us from our enemies, and thoſe evils which we fear, and to bleſſe us with thoſe bleſſings which we ſue, and ſupplicate for. And

2. This *Proteſtation* muſt reſpect *Religion*; for when we ſee *That* in ſome eminent, and apparent danger, and that *It* is like to be juſtled, and ſhouldred out of the doors of *Church* or *State*, by

any

any innovations, ſuperſtitions, ſects, errours, hereſies, or Popiſh vanities, then we muſt labour to ſupport, and ſtay it, by ſome firm, and joynt *promiſes*, and *vows*. And

3. This *Proteſtation* muſt reſpect the *Kings ſacred Majeſty*; for when we ſee either his royall perſon, honour, eſtate, or ſoul, *in danger*, or *endangered*, by any wicked Counſellors, Achitophels, Traitors, Underminers of States, Machiavellians, or any of Antichriſts imps or brood: Then the repreſentative Body of the Land, muſt by ſome holy, and unanimous *Proteſtation*, and *promiſe*, ſtrengthen themſelves, and each one the other, for the preſervation, and ſafety of his Noble perſon, eſtate, and honour, and the eternall ſalvation of his precious ſoul. And

4. This *Proteſtation* muſt reſpect the *Laws of the Land*, the *power* and *priviledges of Parliaments*, and the *liberties* of the *Subject*; for when (by the malice, miſchief, and treachery of any) *Laws* are in danger to be ſubverted, *Parliaments* ſtinted, and ſtraitned, and *people* to be enſlaved, and deprived of their immunities, and priviledges, Then all (ſo far as Religion and Law will allow them) by ſome religious *Proteſtation* and *Vow*, ſhould unite themſelves, for the maintenance, and defence of their *liberties* and *laws*. And

5. This *Proteſtation* muſt reſpect the *Patriots of the Land*; for when we ſee thoſe whom the Lord hath endued, with wiſedom, zeal, courage, and reſolution, to *ſpeak boldly* for the good of *Church* or *State*, and *undantedly* to *oppoſe* the enemies of either, or both of them; then (as farre as warrantably we may) we muſt ſupport, and uphold them, by ſome faithfull *promiſe* or *vow*; as *They* (the *Pillars of the Land*) labour to maintain our *Common-wealth* and *Us*, by their *ſtanding* and *ſpeaking* for our *Religion* and *Laws*. For if they who are zealous, courageous, and reſolute, for the good of their Countrey, and who are not afraid to lay down their lives for their Countrey, ſhould not be maintained, and defended to the utmoſt of our power, it would utterly diſcourage any to ſpeak for the *common good*, or *good* and *welfare*, of the *Common-wealth* or *Commons*. And

6. This *Proteſtation* muſt reſpect the *enemies of Church*, and *State*; for we muſt oppoſe as farre as lawfully we may, and by all good wayes, and meanes endeavor to bring to condign puniſhment,

all ſuch as ſhall by force, practiſe, counſell, plots, conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, do, or endeavour any thing, againſt the common good of *Church* and *State*. And

7. This *Proteſtation* muſt reſpect the *three Kingdoms*, now united by their *one* thrice noble *Head*; For every one ſhould ſeriouſly, (in all juſt and honourable wayes) endeavour to preſerve the union and peace, between the three Kingdoms, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And thus much for the *Matter* of this *Proteſtation*.

Secondly, The next thing obſerveable in this *Proteſtation*, is the *Manner* thereof, *how it muſt be made*; *viz.*

1. Solemnly, reverendly, and in the fear of God; becauſe made in the preſence of God; for we are commanded to fear the Lord, and to ſwear by his Name.

2. Sincerely, cordially, and in truth, becauſe made, and promiſed unto God, who muſt be worſhipped in Spirit, and in Truth, *John* 4.24.

3. Faithfully, for the thing proteſted muſt be performed. Promiſes made unto men muſt be performed, much more unto God, *Pſal.*89.38. And hence people are commanded, Not to forget their Covenant with God, *Jere.*50.5. And therefore the promiſes we make unto God, and our Proteſtations, and Vows made in the preſence of God, muſt be performed, and neither for hope, fear, nor other reſpects muſt be relinquiſhed, *Nehe.*5.12, 13.

4. Cheerfully, and with joy, *Nehe.*8.9, 12.

5. In manner of an Oath, *Ezra* 10.3.5.

6. With a penalty for refuſall, *Ezra* 10.7, 8.

7. With praiſe unto God. Note here. That we in this Land, have at this time, great cauſe, to praiſe, and magnifie the Name of our God; as namely,

1. Becauſe he hath choſen us out of the world, *Nehe.*8.7.

2. Becauſe he hath looked upon our afflictions, *Nehe.* 9.9.

3. Becauſe he hath ſeen our faſting, and heard our prayers, *Nehe* 9.9 27.

4 Becauſe he hath deſtroyed our enemies, *Nehe.*9.10, 11.

5. Becauſe he hath guided, and aſſiſted our Patriots, and Parliamentaries, in their counſels, and conſultations, *Nehe*9 12.

6. Be-

6. Because he hath been mercifull unto us in this Land, above our merits, *Nehe.* 9. 16, 17, 18, 19. And therefore,

1. Let us all trust in him, *Psal.* 115. 9, 10, 11. And

2. Let us all praise him, *Psal.* 118. 2, 3, 4.

Thirdly, The next thing observable in this Protestation, is (if I may so term it) the *Intension* thereof; for we must (as farre as lawfully we may) with our lives, power, and estates, perform the things promised, and vowed.

Fourthly, and Lastly, In this *Protestation*, we must observe, the *Extension*, or *continuance* thereof; for it must be perpetuall, and continue unto our lives end; *Truth*, and *Religion* (the *summe* and *substance* of this *Protestation*) being alwayes *one*, as was shewed before, in the *fifth Means*. Ierem. 50. 5.

And thus much for the first main generall, *Viz. What we pray of you*; namely, *That your Honours may be at Unity amongst your selves*. I proceed now unto the second; to wit, *That you may make unity amongst us*, or *make us one*.

Jovinian the Emperour being solicited to answer the Macedonians petition; gave this answer [y], *I hate all kinde of contention, but unity I like and love*; his meaning was, He would do nothing to further dissention and discord, but all he could to make peace, and unity. And this is that which your *humble Petitioner* now sues unto your Honours for, That you would (because *Vis unita fortior*) joyn all your force together, to make unity amongst us; and to stint, stay, settle, and suppresse, the dissentions, and differences which are in our Church, to the ruine of Religion; and establish the *true Religion* in *Vnity* amongst us.

[y] *Odi omne contentionis genus, concordiam autem unice amplector & amo. Nicephor. Callistus. lib. 10. cap. 40. Eccles. histor.*

In this second main generall, we have these two particulars, particularly to handle; to wit,

1. We desire, That the dissentions, and differences which are in our Church, and which hinder the progresse of Religion, may be taken away by you. And

2. That true Religion, may be established in unity amongst us by you. Now of these in their order.

First, Our request here unto your Honours, is, That you would be pleased to compose those jarres, and to appease those differences of Religion, which are so rife amongst us. If you

should demand *how this may done?* the Philosopher answers *; Take away the cause, and the effect will cease. If this answer beget another Question, viz. *What is the cause of these differences and dissentions in Religion amongst us?* Then I answer thereunto,

That certainly, all iniquity is drawn on with certain cords of vanity [a]; and dissentions would not be so dangerously embraced, if there were not some inducing causes, which make us mistake *error* for *truth*, and so commend falshood to our easier belief. These therefore, indeed, would be *hunted* after, and *Ferretted* out of their *holes* and *holds*; that *error* being unmasked, her *dark teachers* of *untruth* may be no more mistaken for *Angels of Light* [b].

First one cause is the slippery, smooth, and Snake-like nature of *Error*, which easily glides and insinuates it self, both into our *judgement* and *affection*.

1. Touching our *judgement*, Gods truth is many times (*Supra Captum*) above our understanding, not onely in the *Reason why it should be so* (which made *Paul* cry out, *O the deepnesse of God wisedome, and unsearchable wayes!*) but sometimes in the *Manner*. *How can this be* [c]? as one saith of Christs mysticall Union; *Scio quod verbum caro; at quomodo nescio; miravit? Omnis caro ignorat* [d], *That the Word was made flesh I know, but how it was done, I do not know; dost thou marveil at this? All flesh is ignorant hereof*; For mans wisedome cannot know God [e]. Whence one saith, *In eo peccatum est, quod rem dictu ineffabilem —— comprehensione impossibilem, vani homines se animo complecti posse crediderunt* [f], *This was no small fault in them, That those things which were ineffable, and incomprehensible, they beleeved they could conceive, and take up.*

But *Errors* have commonly their grounds from mistaken, or misapplyed grounds of mans wisedome, called *Philosophy*. Mans wisedome hath enticing words [g], and doth sophistically deceive us [h], and Philosophy leads our belief prisoners [i]. Whence *Tertullian* saith, *Haereses à Philosophia suborrantur* [k]. *That Philosophy is the suborner of heresie*; and the same Father shewes, That heresies were borrowed from *Plato, Epicurus, Zeno, Heraclitus, Aristotle, &c.* (*Ibid.*) Whence it hath been said, *Summi Philosophi, summi Haeresiarchae, The greater Philosophers, the greater Heretick*; which

* *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.*
Quest.
Answ.
Question.
Answer.
[a] Isa. 5 18.
[b] 2 Cor. 11 13. The causes of dissentions and discord.
Cause 1.
Rom 11 33.
[c] Luke 1 34.
[d] *Chrys. Daven.* 242.
[e] 1 Cor. 1. 21. & 2. 14.
[f] *Danaeus. thes. Valent.*
[g] 1 Cor. 2. 4. & Coloss 2 4
[h] Rom 16 18. and Coloss 2. 4
[i] Coloss 2 8.
[k] *Tert. de praescript. haeret.*

which was found too true in *Ebion*, *Samosatenus*, *Celsus*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, *Psellus*, &c. yea, even *Iulian* himself drew his strongest Shaft out of that *Quiver*. Now

2. Touching *Affection* the case is more plain; for the naturall man sees no *beauty* in Christ, nor *form* to desire him [l]; and *truth* hath no relish with him, *that* being such a *hard saying*, that he cannot endure it [m]; yea, all *truths Doctrines* are *bands*, and *bridles*, that enthrall and check our carnall liberty; as for example, The condemning of evill words, and of lust, even in the heart [n], the injunction to confesse our selves nothing [o], and unprofitable servants [p], and the denyall of the world, which startled and amazed the very Apostles [q], and makes men go to true Religion, as a Bear to the Stake.

[l] Isa. 53. 2.
[m] Ioh. 6. 60.
[n] Matth. 12. 36. & 5. 28.
[o] Rom. 7. 18.
[p] Luke 17. 10.
[q] Matt. 19. 25.

But now touching *Errors*, it is otherwise: for as *Alcibiades* covered his Pictures, being Owls and Apes, with a Curtain embroidered with Lions and Eagles: and as *Silenus* his Pictures, were without, Lambs and Doves, but within, Tygers and Vultures; so error is gilded, and painted over with such delightfull colours, and so perfumed, as it strongly entangles naturall affections. Such are the Familists wanton communion; the Perfectionists lazy rest from the use of the means, and all Christian War-fare; the Papists pardons for money; and their outward pomp and bravery in Processions, Altars, Shrines, Rood-lofts, and other vanities, in the service of their Churches, serving only to allure simple people. Such are also the Mahometists promiks of pleasant Gardens, sumptuous and pleasant Palaces, stately Horses, many Wives, &c. in the life to come; to which things mans nature easily listens. And this is the first cause why errour is more readily embraced than the truth. And therefore let your Honors care and endeavour be, to suppresse all those doctrines and opinions which are pleasing, and sutable to our corrupt natures, but pernicious and sinfull for our soules.

2. Another cause hereof, is the manifold wickednesse of mans corrupted heart, which (as a slime brought in by the inundation of sin) breeds many poysonous Serpents of dissention: As for example, *Cause* 2.

1. In some the onely shallow humour of new singledneſſe, like Athenians, ever delighting in Novelties [r]. No sooner doth Sathan raise

[r] Acts 17. 21.

raiſe a ſmoke of Novell errors; but theſe puffs of winde blow a-broad the fume thereof into all mens eyes. Never was error deviſed, ſo monſtrous againſt God, or ſo abſurd againſt common reaſon, but there were ſome found who would embrace it. What mad man or Idiot would beleeve, that *Simon* were God, or *Menander* Chriſt, or *Montanus* the holy Ghoſt; or that the Serpent which deceived *Eve* ſhould be worſhipped of us (except ſome papiſt ſhould parallell it with the Spear which wounded Chriſt) yet thus *ſubtill Satban taught, and thus ſimple men beleeved* And

2. In ſome the vain pride of ambition occaſions errors, or a deſire to be called *Rabbi* [r]; and with *Diotrephes*, to have the preheminence [t], and to ſpeak proud and perverſe things, and draw Diſciples after them [u]: Theſe men delight to broach new opinions, and to be holden inventers of new Tenents. So *Theodotus*, *Proclus*, and others, were followers of *Montanus*, and alſo the *Cataphrygians*; but they in their ſingular pride, called their hereſies by their own names. *Magno faſtu, proprias & a ſe denominatas hæreſes condiderunt* [x]. And I would to God *England* were free from that vanity. And

3. In others, a froward ſtubborn wilfulneſſe occaſions the ſpreading of errors; who will obſtinately defend whatſoever hath caſually dropt from their pen or tongue. So *Theodotus* (having for fear of death abjured Chriſt) defended it afterwards by ſaying, *He denyed not God, becauſe Chriſt was not God, but only Man* [y]. And this is one of the papiſts chief principles, To confeſſe nothing erroneous, which their Church hath taught at any time. And

4. In very many the minding of earthly things [z], who teach things they ought not, for lucres ſake [a]; and ſerve not the Lord, but make them Gods of their own bellyes [b], and admire mens perſons for advantage ſake [c]. There is a fiſh in the flood *Aranii*, that at the waxing of the Moon is as white as Snow, at the waning as black as pitch. And there are many who ſeem very clear in doctrine and opinion, ſo long as the truth is moſt promoted and approved by great ones, but muddy and corrupt, when errour is moſt favoured and advanced. Their

[r] Matth 23 7.
[t] 3 Iohn 9.
[u] Acts 20.30.
[x] *Daneus de Cataphryg.*
[y] *Epiphan. de hær. Theodot.*
[z] Phil 3 19.
[a] Tit. 1. 11.
[b] Rom. 16 18. Phil. 3 19.
[c] Iude 16.

Their Religion is *primo Regis*; and if King *Henry* be a papiſt, King *Edward* a proteſtant, Queen *Mary* of the one, Queen *Elizabeth* of the other, they will ever ſail with the winde, and row with the Tide, and ſwim with the ſtream, and imitate (but the wrong way) *Huſhai* the Archite. *Whomſoever* (or whatſoever) *the people, and all the men of Iſrael ſhall chooſe, theirs will they be, and there will they abide*[d]. And [d] 1 Sam. 16.18

5. In all the generall corruption of our nature, which is ever *wilfull*, and *skilfull*, *ready*, and *able*, to diſpute againſt the truth of God.

1. *Ready*, by our naturall diſaffection; the wiſedom of the fleſh, being enmity with God, *is not ſubject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be*[e]: wherefore the naturall man is called, *Averſe from God*[f], as having all our inclinations drawing away from him. [e] Rom. 8 7. [f] Ierem. 3. 12, and 8, 5. Iſa. 59 13.

2. *Able*, by the perverſe craſty wit we have learnt from Sathan, who doth furniſh us abundantly with arguments againſt every truth of God; like to that Sophiſter, who boaſted, *That he had ſometimes wanted concluſions to defend, but never arguments to defend them withall.* And this brings in the *third cauſe* of ſo many diſſentions; which is,

Thirdly, the *ſubtill malice*, and *malicious ſubtilty* of Sathan; *Cauſe* 3. who, as he is in generall a perpetuall, and indefatigable enimy of Chriſt, his Church, Religion, and Truth; ſo in this particular he racks his malicious wit to the higheſt ſtrain, to *prepare*, and *fit us for errors*, and *errors for us*.

1. *He prepares us*, partly by raiſing doubts in our mindes, which he hath ſometimes done in the maineſt grounds of Religion (as *Protagoras* ſaith, it may be doubted, *Dii ſint annon? Whether there be any God or not?*) and partly by ſoftening the courage and conſtancy of our mindes, which ſhould animate us to oppoſe errours, and their abbettors, under the ſhew of love, peace, and the ſpirit of meekneſſe; and; which makes many forbear to reply, when they ſee the truth ſtrongly oppoſed; and partly by ſuggeſting to our mindes, arguments againſt the truth of God. Thus he hath taught men to diſpute againſt the Creation of the world of nothing; againſt the

contents of the Ark; against the renovation of so many millions of men by *Noah*, and his three sonnes, within three hundred yeers, and even against the foundation of the Mystery of our salvation, in both the natures of our blessed Saviour. And

2. On the other side, *He prepares Errors for us*; and that these wayes; *viz.*

1. By seasoning them to our tastes; by observing our severall dispositions, and fitting us with agreeable suggestions. To the proud wit he suggests matter of novelty; to the ambitious, doctrines of prerogative; to the worldly minded, gainfull Tenents; and to the loose affected doctrines of liberty. As he made *Evah* his instrument to deceive *Adam*, so he causes our *Affections* to betray our *Judgement* [8]. And

[8] *Venit tandem animus ad meam sententiam. Ter.*

2. He prepares errours for us, by glazing, and polishing them over, that they may the more smoothly deceive. And herein he hath plaid his Master-prize. For although he daily suggests to man the same errours for substance, wherewith he infected former ages, yet he doth so mould them a new, and cast them into other forms, *Ut non cognoscas eosdem esse*, that we cannot at first sight perceive them to be the same. For example, The doctrine of the now libertines is for substance the same which the Simonians held in the first infancy of the Church. But the grosse Tenents which his boldnesse broached in former times (that it was *lawfull*, yea as some said, *requisite*, or rather, as others, *necessary* to follow all uncleannesse, and so to please and delight those evill spirits to whom by nature we are subject) were too broad for these dayes of light and knowledge. And therefore he brings in this Harlot muffled with many distinctions; sometimes between the *upper* and *neither* parts of the body: after, between the *body*, and the *spirit*; Lastly, between the *comprehending part*, and *other parts* of the soul. Again, Satan desires now (as much as ever) to reduce the pomp, and idolatry of *Rome* into our reformed Churches; but as the Fowler hides his nets with chaffe, and himself with bushes, and pipes sweetly, as if there were nothing there, but meat and melody: so the devill covers his dangerous purpose with chaffy doctrines, and hides himself under other pretences, entertaining the simple with delight-

Fistula dulce canit.

delightfull vanities, in the mean time assaulting faith (as perseverance of the Saints, the All-sufficiency of the written Word, and heavenly nature of faith, &c.) and labouring to draw us back into some antiquated and demolished vanities, of old used by the papists, and disused in reformed Churches, as Altars, Crosses, Tapers, Images, Pictures in walls, windows, garments, and the like; because these being once admitted, will serve, as so many graduall Steps, to re-advance that Babylonish Strumpet, to that Seat of Supreme and Spirituall Monarchy, from whence by our fore-fathers, she was iustly dismounted.

These three mentioned, are main causes which fill the world with dissentions. For errors are a pleasing bait, our wanton appetite greedily embracing them, and the devil, as a skilfull Angler, baits his hook of dissention with them; that we may say as *Anthoninus* once said, *Vah Domine quis evadere queat, O Lord, who can escape?* But

Fourthly, there is another over-swaying cause, of more power than any (yea all) of these; and that is, The fearfull wrath of our God, delivering up those people to blindeness and errour, whose sinnes he findes ripe unto harvest. It is *dangerous* when Sathan, like a roring Lion, goes about to deceive us[h]; but much *more fearfull*, when the Lord gives leave, and permits him to tempt us[i]; but then beyond all *most desperate*, when our sinnes shall provoke the Lord to seal a Commission or Warrant to this deceiver. *Go thy way, and thou shalt prevail*[k]. If men turn the glory of God to the similitude of sinfull man[l]; whether the Prophet and people do wickedly[m], or the people sacrifice to the golden Calf[n], or set up Idols in their hearts[o]: God will give up the people to serve the Host of Heaven[p], and even infatuate the Prophets for their sakes[q], and make their wayes slippery in darkness, that they may fall therein[r]; and so give them up (both priest and people) to their own hearts lust, and even unto a reprobate sense[s]: For it is a just thing with God, if we will not receive the Word of truth, to send us strong delusions, that we should believe lyes[t]; yea, to a people thus given over, it will little avail them to have religious Princes, Peers, and Laws; For God will effectuate his own will, mauger

Cause 4.

[h] 1 Pet. 5. 8.
[i] Joh. 1. 6.
[k] 1 King. 22. 22
[l] Rom. 1. 23.
[m] Iere 23. 11.
[n] Acts 7. 41.
[o] Ezek 14 7.
[p] Acts 7 42.
[q] Ezek. 14. 9.
[r] Ierem. 23 12.
[s] Rom. 1. 24. 28
[t] 2 Thessal. 2. 10, 11.

* *Quos perdere vult Iupiter, hos dementat.*

maugre all impediments [u], he can make fooliſh the wiſe Counſellours, and ſend among them the ſpirit of errours [x]; he can take away the heart of Princes, and make them wander out of the way [y]; yea he hath threatned to make our hearts fat [z], and ſmite us with the ſpirit of ſlumber, that we ſhall not ſee, for a recompence unto us [a].

[u] Iſa. 19. 11. 14.
[x] Iob 12. 24.
[y] Iſa. 6. 10.
[z] Rom. 11. 8. 9.

Thus your Honours have ſeen the cauſes of theſe differences, diſſentions, and rents which are amongſt us: and it may now be expected, that I ſhould ſhew the remedies againſt thoſe cauſes; but I omit it.

Partly, becauſe I have amply ſhewed the duty both of Magiſtrates and people, for the averting of ſpirituall as well as temporall plagues from Church and State, in my *Pious mans practice in Parliament time.* And

Partly, becauſe I would not preſume to teach a Dolphin to ſwim; or direct your Honours (our politick and Eccleſiaſtick Phyſitians) what phyſick to adminiſter, or what receits to preſcribe, for the curing and recovering of our ſick Church; your own Chriſtian care, and conſideration, and pious prudence, experience and knowledge, being beſt of all able to direct you herein. Thus much therefore ſhall ſuffice for the firſt prime particular of the ſecond main generall; *viz.* That we petition your Honours, ſo to conſider of our diſſentions, diviſions, and diſcord, and the cauſes of them, that you may uſe the utmoſt of your endevour and power, to ſuppreſſe, redreſſe, and take them away. The other follows.

Secondly, the next thing, which (in the name of all true hearted Engliſh, and ſincere children of the Church of England) I humbly beg of your Honours, is, *That true Religion may be eſtabliſhed in the unity of truth amongſt us, by you.*

Queſt. But it may be your Honours will here demand of me, Which is that holy Unity of truth, which *You* deſire *We* ſhould eſtabliſh, and *be one* in the firm rooting of?

Anſw. I might anſwer unto your Honours, *That it is the true Religion of Chriſt:* But this doth but beget another queſtion; *viz. Which is that true Religion of Chriſt?* Now though it were anſwer enough againſt the Papiſts, to ſay, *That which the reformed Churches*

elect hold according to the written word; yet this will not satisfie the doubt amongst our selves; considering the manifold *Tares* of different opinions, which Satan hath laboured to sow even in the midst of our Reformed Churches, yea in the midst of our own Church of England: (I might here instance in Lutherans, and Zwinglians; in non-conformists, and conformitans; in Calvinists, and Remonstrants, and Socinians, &c.) What shall we then say to this? Shall we take upon us to determine which are true Tenents, and which erroneous? It were too great a pride to confine all differing learned men to my poor opinion (lest they should say unto me, *When went the Spirit of the Lord from us, to speak unto thee*[a]?) neither will I undertake a work of such arrogancy. It will be (I hope) a more acceptable and profitable course, to observe unto your Honours some few Rules and Remonstrances, which may serve as Land-marks, to govern and direct our doubtfull steps (at least probably) to find out that heavenly palace of holy truth, where we may safely and securely set down our staffe, and stay our selves.

[a] 1 Kin. 22. 24.

Rules whereby the true Religion of Christ may be discerned.

1. Take heed of innovating in Religion. Innovation hath bin ever held so dangerous, that the fear thereof brought our prudent State to a pawse, even in the holy work of Reformation; as a Prelate of our own witnessed[b]; and therefore let that abide in us, which we have had from the beginning[c]; and let us keep the profession of our hope without wavering[d]; taking especiall heed of relapsing, and falling back again (with the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the mire[e]) into any forsaken and demolished erroneous opinions, or superstitions of Popery. Our Fathers (in the times of Reformation) taught us the certainty of our salvation, the perseverance of the Saints, the sweet doctrine of Predestination, the heavenly gift of Faith, the free grace of salvation, and to prefer (in the service of God) the inward worship of the Spirit, before unmeasurable outward pomp, or any lip-labour, or bare outward performance. Yea, these doctrines have been sealed unto us, by the blood of many holy Martyrs, (Bishop *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Farrer*, &c.) and continued and confirmed by the unanimous teaching of many famously learned (unparalleld *Juell*, *Morton*, *Davenant*, *Fulke*, *Whitakers*,

Rule 1.

[b] *Tanta molis erat Romanum tollere ritum.* Archb. *Hutton.*

[c] 1. Ioh. 2. 24.

[d] Heb. 10.

[e] 2 Pet. 2. 20.

takers, *Humphry*, *Sutcliff*, *Willet*, and many others.) Now *if we build again what we have deſtroyed, we make our ſelves tranſgreſſors* [f]. Wherefore let not us leave theſe doctrines, and lean unto the contrary, maintained by Papiſts, Pelagians, Remonſtrants, and their abettors: but let us hold faſt, and keep to the inſtructions which we have been taught (2. Theſſal. 2. 15.) let us not waver, nor be carried about with every blaſt of windy doctrine [g]; but hold faſt what we have learnt, that no man may take away our Crown [h], leſt if we re-edifie, or re-admit what hath been baniſhed, Sathan will not come alone, but bring in with him ſeven Spirits worſe then himſelf [i].

[f] Gal. 2. 8. *Multi ſuperſtitiones veteres mordicus retinent, multis explosis reducunt.* Gualt.
[g] Matth. 11. 11.
[h] Eph. 4. 14.
[i] Rev. 3. 11.
[i] Matth. 12. 47.

Saint *Auguſtine* tells us of a man that fell into a ditch, and his friend coming by, and being deſired by him to help him forth, he began to queſtion with him, How he fell in? If he were drunk when he fell? or, If it were dark? How long he had been in? If none at all had come by ſince he fell in? and the like demands. Oh (ſaith he) help me forth from hence, and do not enquire how I came hither. If a man ſee his houſe on fire, he doth not firſt enquire, How it came? In what room it began? What damage it hath already done? By whoſe negligence it was? Whether it was done wilfully, or careleſly? But he labours by all means, with all ſpeed to quench it. Give me leave, my Lords, for the concluſion of this firſt Rule to apply theſe paſſages. Every ſeeing eye, and marking man, obſerves how our Church and Religion is on fire; and how the very main pillars thereof are in perill utterly to periſh: for theſe doctrines have been miſerably ſhaken, burnt, battered, defac't, and oppoſed, *viz.* The perſeverance in faith and grace, the certainty of ſalvation, particular redemption, the free grace of ſalvation, and that it is not of works, with divers others; which by perſons popiſhly affected (at leaſt in theſe points) have been withſtood; the contrary Popiſh errours broached, printed, and preached, and the defenders thereof preferred and countenanced; as by many particular petitions and inſtances hath been proved to your Honours: yea the caſe ſtood ſo, and the matter was ſo managed, that if the Lord had not been the more extraordinarily gracious

unto

unto us, in calling your Honours to help us, we might ere long have taken up the Fathers complaint, with ſome mutation, *That all England is become an Arminian.* Now I know your Honors, in your grave wiſedome, and great care of us, will not ſo much enquire, Who firſt broached theſe opinions amongſt us? Who firſt gave life unto them, and who nouriſhment? Who fomented, and who favoured them? who preached them, and who promoted the Preachers of them? (although all theſe be worth enquiry, that the inſtruments of our miſchief may be found out:) as ſtudy how to ſuppreſſe and expell theſe doctrines and Doctors from amongſt us for the preſent, and make proviſion againſt them for the time to come. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for the firſt Rule.

2. Let us not preſume to arraign God at the bar of mans underſtanding, to give an account to us either of his *works* or *will*. For the *ſhallow ſhell* of mans brain cannot comprehend thoſe *Oceans*, either of his *Works*, *How they are done?* or of his *Will*, *Why he did ſo?* *Rule* 2.

1. Touching his *Works*, many things are impoſſible with man, wch are poſſible enough with God[k]: as was Chriſts conception to his bleſſed Mother[l]; and ſome things to the Fathers, as ſhall appear in the next particular. Our help here muſt be in the heavenly evidence of things not ſeen[m], walking by faith, not by ſight[n]: Diſciples muſt turn diſputing into beleeving[o], as hath been with all humility acknowledged by the Fathers. Now

[k] Luke 18.27.
[l] Luke 1.34.
[m] Heb.11.1.
[n] 2 Cor.5.7.
[o] μαθητευσατε τῷ πιστευειν.

2. Touching his *Will*, it is *ſtrange* that ſome ſhould hold it *ſtrange*, That Gods will ſhould be given as a ſufficient and finall reaſon of his works, as if man were of Gods privie Councell, and did know what reaſon moved him to all his works; or, as if Gods juſtice ſhould not be approved further then man can give the reaſon thereof. Alas, *who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was his Counceller*[p]? or, what man is he that can know the counſell of God, or, who can thinke what his will is[q]? Therefore it muſt ſuffice us, That the Scriptures give Gods *Will*, as a determining reaſon of his *Workes*[r]. And if the naturall wiſe man demand a reaſon, How *this* can ſtand with the *Juſtice*, or that with the *Mercy* of God, &c? Let Saint *Pauls* reprehenſion ſtop his mouth. *Oh man, what art thou that pleadeſt*

[p] Rom 11 34. Iſa.40 13. and 1 Cor.2 16.
[q] Wiſd.9.13.
[r] Matth 11 26. Iſa.46.10. Dan. 4 32. Rom 9. 15. Iam.1.19. Epheſ.1.11.

that pleadeſt againſt God? hath not the Potter power to make of
[c] Rom 9.20.21 *the ſame lump, one veſſell to honour, another to diſhonour* [c]? Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith plainly, That onely God knows the reaſon of his will. *Poſſet Deus, cur ergo non fecit? quia noluit: —— cur noluerit, penes*
[t] Gen. ad lit. 11. 10. *ipſum eſt* [t]: and as flatly, That Gods will is the neceſſity of the creature. *Voluntas Creatoris eſt rerum neceſſitas* [u]. And Saint *Paul*
[u] Ib. lib. 6 ca. 15 wraps up this myſtery in a holy rapture, admiring *the deepneſſe of Gods wiſedome, and unſearchable judgements and wayes* (note this
[x] Rom. 11 33. well) *paſt finding out* [x]. Gravely and divinely doth learned *Muſculus* reprove the boldneſſe of man, daring to examine the juſtice of Gods works; as if it were no further to be approved, than our ſhallow ſenſe can comprehend it. *Non vocanda in jus divina providentia; ſed diſcamus altitudinem illam (Rom. 11. 33.) reverenter ſuſcipere. Non ferenda moroſitas, non tribuentium Deo juſtitiæ laudem, niſi quoad ſenſum eorum pertingit* [y].
[y] Muſc. ſ. Mat. 11.21.

Rule 3. Thirdly, give not too much place to curious queſtions, or diſputations, eſpecially touching the Works of God. A ſimple man may knit more knots in an hour, than many learned men can unlooſe in a long time. It is eaſier to raiſe many ſuch ſpirits, than to lay or conjure down a few of them. To confeſſe a truth, we ſhall finde ſome ſo ſtrongly armed with ſeeming weight of reaſon or equity, that it will even confound mans wit and underſtanding to avoid them; and they muſt, indeed, be aſſoiled onely by faith, as was ſaid before. I will recite ſome few ſuch queſtions, not that we ſhould diſcuſſe them, but (as the Lacedemonians ſhewed drunkards to their children) that we ſhould abhor to diſpute them.

One diſputes thus, Either God did not reveal to the good Angels their future perſeverance (and then, how were they happy?) or he did it to them, but not to the reſt, which after fell; and then how was he equall to all? *Si ſancti Angeli æternæ ſuæ beatitudinis incerti, quomodo beati? Si dicamus Deum diabolo (adhuc bono) revelare noluiſſe, cæteris verò revelaſſe, quo malo merito diſcernebatur a cæteris? Num Deus prius ultor quam ille peccator* [z]? Again he queſtions, Why
[z] Aug. de Gen. ad lit. 11 17. God permitted *Adam* to be tempted, knowing that he would
[a] Ib. lib. 11. c. 4. fall if he were [a]. Alſo, Why Infants ſhould be damned, through
[b] Ib. lib. 10. c. 15. the negligence of other men [b]? Alſo he thinks it cannot by Scriptures be proved (which yet is holden for a certain truth) That

mans

mans ſoul is derived from God, and not from the parents [a]. Another cannot conceive, How the Word could be made fleſh [b]? So ſome queſtion, How it can ſtand with Chriſts mercy, not to offer the means to *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, which he knew would have repented [c]?

[a] *Ib. lib.* 10. *cap.* 15.
[b] *Chryſoſt. S. Ioh.* 1. *hom.* 19.
[c] Matth. 11. 21.

Now my Lords, leſt theſe ſhould be imputed as faults to thoſe holy Fathers; Let me acquaint your Honours with their pious, and reverend anſwers. It is true, Saint *Auguſtine* ſtruggles (like a man embogged in the depth of Gods judgements) to finde a reaſon, *Why Infants are damned?* Either from Gods fore knowledge, how they would have ſinned if they had lived; or from ſome other hidden cauſe [d]. And *Fr. Maro* elſewhere, would excuſe him, to ſpeak only by way of argument, not of judgement. *Hic loquitur, non determinando, ſed arguendo* [e]. But the bleſſed Father reſts not in theſe, but confeſſeth plainly, That he cannot pierce into the depth of Gods counſels, they being farre above his reach [f]; and he thinks above all humane judgement [g]. And *Chryſoſtome* forbids us to ſearch ſuch things [h], profeſſing himſelf, and all creatures to be ignorant thereof. Theſe are pious confeſſions, learned ignorance, humble ſincerity, bright ſhining faith, and heavenly ſpirits; and we ſhould learn of them, to confeſſe our blindneſſe, and to ſubmit our underſtanding in faith, to the wiſedome of God. *Niſi ardore diſputationum ingenia incaleſcerent, ad multa poſſemus piè reſpondere, Deus novit. Aretius.* If heat of argument did not inflame us, we might piouſly anſwer to many queſtions of this nature, God knows how, though we know not. And therefore ſeeing theſe Queſtions, and Diſputations concerning the *Will*, *Works*, and *Attributes* of *God* are ſo dangerous, derogatory, and unwarrantable; Let your Honours care be to take ſome Religious and pious courſe, for the ſtinting, and reſtraining of them; and the extinguiſhing of this fire of Arminianiſme, which gives heat, life, and growth unto them.

[d] *Auguſt. de Gen. adlit. lib.* 10. *cap.* 15.
[e] *Veritate quinta* S. 11. 16.
[f] Gen. 14. 4.
[g] *Ib.* 10. 15.
[h] *Chryſ. S. Ioh.* 1. *hom.* 10.

Fourthly, Let us never leave our own *colours*, to paſſe into the *Pavilions* of the *Papiſts*. This is done, *Rule* 4.

Partly by ſiding with them in opinions, touched in the firſt Rule. And

Partly by fighting with their weapons, and borrowing their

armour, and arguments against our brethren. Let pride, and faction say what it will: I know your Honours will hold those opinions (at the very best) suspicious, which cannot be defended, but by those selfe same arguments, (and sometimes pressed in those very words) which the Papists were wont to use, against our reverend Reformers, and learned Writers: for example, Universall Redemption, generall election, predestination unto life from a foresight of works; the merit of works; justification by works; the fulfilling of the Law; and divers other Tenents are held, and professed by many in our Church, who are not able to maintain their opinions without borrowing of helps, grounds, and arguments, from Jesuites, and Popish Writers.

Rule 5. Fifthly, Let your Honours be well aware of the cheating, and craftinesse of men, who will not openly, and plainly oppose us, with main forces, propounding simply their main doctrines in question, but labour to gather upon us in By—and indifferent—seeming propositions; which yeilded unto, from thence they will induce others; and so (like cunning Faulkoners, holding fast what they get) by constant prosecuting of advantages gotten, take in all our forces, by insensible degrees one after another. 1 2 Cor. 11. 13. For false Apostles are deceitfull workers, and like Serpents if they can wring in, but the tip of their tails, will slyly insinuate the whole bodies of their errours into our affections. Let us therefore beware how we open unto them, a by-postern of belief, lest before we be aware, we (to our own unspeakable danger) admit all their forces, and so suffer them to quarter their whole squadrons in our hearts. I will only instance in one sort of false Teachers. It appears as clear, as the Sunne at high noon, by that learned work entituled, *Collatio Remonstrantium & Socinianorum*, That Arminianisme is but a step unto Socinianisme; and whether Socinianisme will not (in all probability) in time, lead unto Arrianisme, I leave it to the learned to judge. And therefore, let your Honours (we humbly beseech you) joyn all your strength, to quench this fire of Pelagianisme, that hath so long burned, and enflamed, the very bowels of our Church.

Rule 6. Sixthly and lastly, I will conclude my *unpolished Petition* unto your Honours, with this *exhortative Caveat*, That if you desire *my Petition*

Petition may be admitted, accepted, read, voted, anſwered, and granted, by both your *Honorable Houſes*, to the generall ioy and reioycing of the whole Church of *England*; that then your Honours muſt unanimouſly become *Petitioners your ſelves*, both for your ſelves, and us, Remembring that all holy perſeverance (and therefore this abiding in Unity of truth) is above the reach and power of man. To be of one opinion, and to hold faſt that Union of Doctrine, which is according to the truth of the Goſpel, as alſo to eſtabliſh and ſettle it amongſt others, is a fruit that the Garden of Nature affords not, but muſt be tranſplanted from Heaven, and grafted in us by the Spirit of our God, *from whom every good gift doth proceed and flow* [k]. Therefore it is not to be purchaſed elſe-where, than in the high and heavenly *Court of Requeſts*, by *Petition* to him, who hath aſſured us, *That whatſoever we ask according to his will, we ſhall have it granted* [l]. And therefore as your Honors are helped by the holy and daily prayers of the faithfull, for the bleſſing of the Lord upon your perſons, proceedings, counſels, and pious deſignes and endeavours; ſo let your Honors continue to petition the Throne of Grace, for his gracious and divine aſſiſtance, ſtill following with one heart and ſoul, thoſe things which concern peace; and whereby the holy Union of truth may be confirmed and founded amongſt us, and abiding amongſt your ſelves in Unity, Peace, and Love; And then *the God of Love, and Peace, ſhall be with you* [m], *and the Peace of God ſhall preſerve you* [n].

Now that God of Peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jeſus, the great Shepherd of the Sheep, through the Blood of the everlaſting Covenant *make you perfect in every good work, to do his will* [o]; and keep you all *one in him*, and for his truth *here on earth*; and in his due time, bring you to Heaven [p], where Chriſt your Lord is, *that you may behold the glory which the Father hath given him*, and your ſelves be made partakers thereof. *Amen.*

[k] Iam. 1. 17.

[l] 1 Ioh. 5. 14. 15.

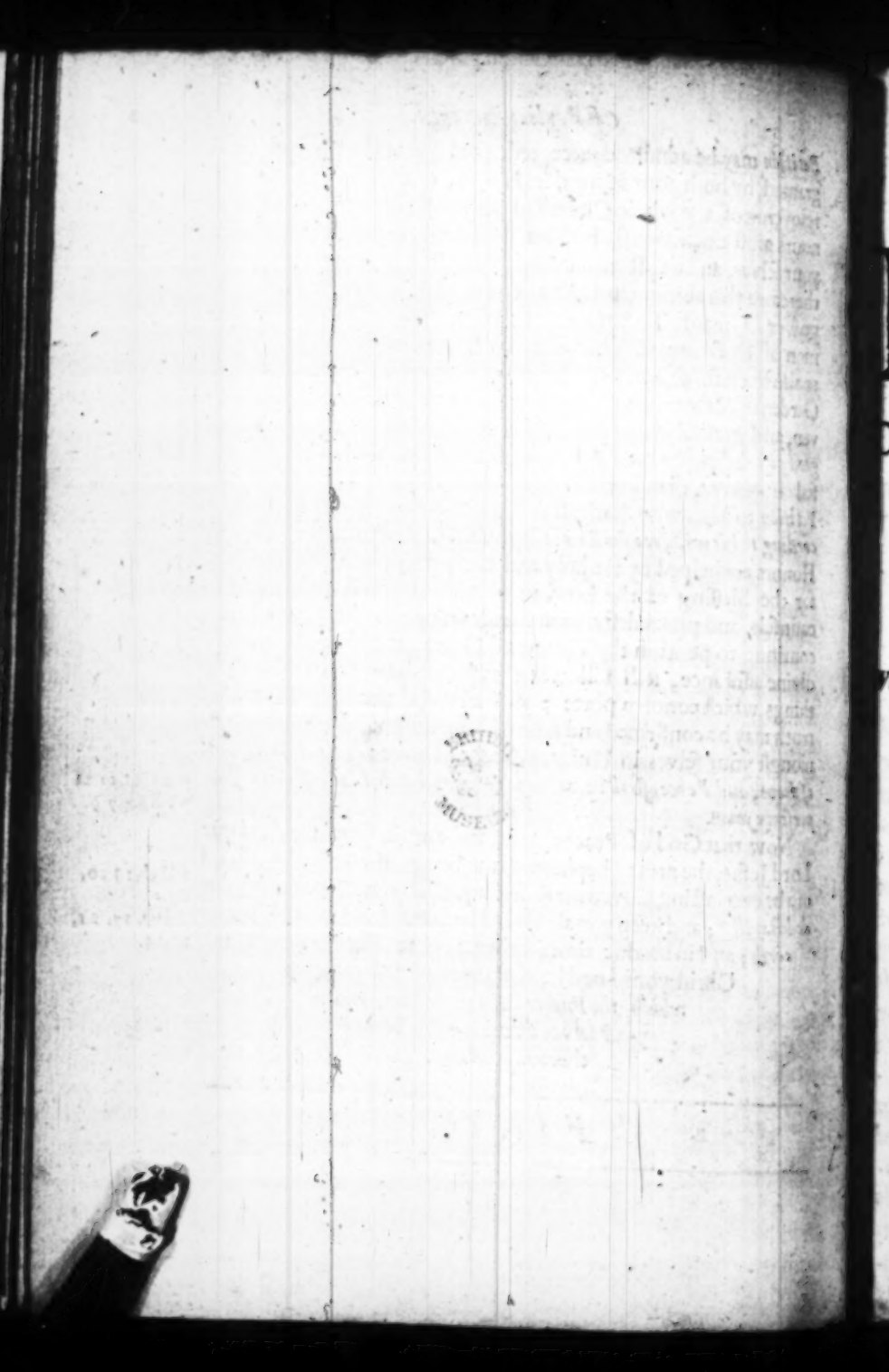
[m] 2 Cor. 13. 11

[n] Phil. 4. 7. 9.

[o] Heb. 13. 20, &c.

[p] Ioh. 17. 21, 23, 24.

FINIS.



NEVVES FROM IPSWICH:

Discovering certaine late deteſtable practices of ſome dominiering Lordly Prelates, to undermine the eſtabliſhed Doctrine and Diſcipline of our Church, extirpate all Orthodox ſincere Preachers and preaching of Gods Word, uſher in Popery, Superſtition and Idolatry.

Woe be unto the Paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the ſheep of my Flocke, ſaith the Lord. Ierem. 23. 1.

First printed at Ipiwich, and now reprinted for *T. Bates.* 1641.

CHristian Reader, this is the deplorable newes of our present age, that our Presses, formerly open onely to Truth and Piety, are closed up against them both of late, and patent for the most part, to nought but error, superstition, and prophanesse; witnesse many *prophane, erroneous, impious bookes*, printed within these 3. yeares by authority (point blanke against the established doctrine of the Church of *England*, and his Majesties *prom declarations*) in defence of Arminianisme, and Popish ceremonies; and which is yet more impious and detestable, *against the very morality of the Sabbath and 4. Commandement: the divine institution, title and intire religious sanctification of the Lords day Sabbath, and the necessity of frequent preaching* (exceedingly prest in our *Homilies and booke of Ordination*) which some of our unpreaching, dominiering secular Prelats (out of their Arch-piety towards God, and Arch-charity to the peoples soules which they seek to eradicate) now so fast decrest, that they not only give over preaching themselves, as no part of their function; and suppresse most wickedly Lectures in divers countries: but have likewise lately shut up the mouthes of sundry of our most godly, powerfull, painfull Preachers (who have won more soules to God in a yeare, then all the Lord Bishops in England or the whole world have done in divers ages) out of meere malice to religion, and the peoples salvation, contrary to the very lawes of God and the Realme; strictly prohibited, under paine of suspension, in sendry Dioceses, all afternoone Sermons on the Lords own day, that so the prophane vulgar might have more time to dance, play, revell, drink, and prophane Gods Sabbaths, even in these dayes of plague and pestilence, to draw downe more plague, and judgements on us for that sin of Sabbath-breaking, when as not only the Synod of *Dort*, but sundry Popish Synods and Bishops have been so religious, as to preferre the *two Sermons* every Lords day at least in every Parish Church, to keep the people from such prophanations of this sacred day. Alas! what could *Belzebub the Prince of Devels*, had he been an *Archbishop* or Lordly Prelate here in England (as there were many such *Bishops* in *Bernards* age, and most sure there are too many now) have done more against the strict intire sanctification of the Christian Sabbath day, to abuse the Lords day, and to advance *Popish innovations* on it; or against the frequent powerfull Preachers, and preaching of Gods word, and salvation of the peoples souls, then some *Luciferian Lord Bishops* have lately done? whose impiety in this kind transcends all presidents whatsoever in former ages. And yet these prophane Atheistical persecuters of all holinesse, piety, sincerity, godly Ministers, & preaching

ing of Gods word (yea in these pestilentiall times, as meanes to spread the plague, though the Scripture and all former ages have prescribed fasting, preaching and praying, as the chiefe antidotes and cure against it) will needs be *Lord Bishops Iure divino*, by the holy Ghosts own institution (who never yet instituted any unpreaching, rare preaching Prelates, or persecuters and suppressors of preaching) and shame not to stile themselves the *Godly holy Fathers of our Church, and pillars of our faith*, when as their fruits and actions manifest them to be nought else but very *Stepfathers* and *Caterpillers*, the very pests and plagues of both. Take one fresh instance for an example: these desperate Archagents for the Divell and *Pope of Rome*, and Master underminers of our Religion, as they were the onely instruments of delaying the present generall Fast in the beginning of the pestilence, when it was most acceptable and requisite: so, to shew their inveterate malice against preaching (the thing that the Divell wrastleth most against, all whole study hath been to decay the office of preaching, which should not be diminished) they (contrary to his Majesties pious intention, who hath so oft protested against all innovations) have cunningly caused all Sermons (the very life and soul of a Fast, as being the only means to humble men for their sinnes, and bring them to repentance) to be prohibited on the Fast day, both in *London* and the *Suburbs*, and in all other infected places, during the time of the infection in them; in Parishes not infected, (as if preaching only of all Gods ordinances were pestilentiall, and that on the Fast day, not on others) contrary to the presidents of all former ages, and the orders for the generall fasts in the two last great plagues, which prescribed two Sermons of one houre long a-peece, forenoon and afternoon every fast day, and that as well in *Parishes infected*, as others: even in the Summer season, when the infection was more contagious & raging then now. By which devicethey have not only made this fast distastfull to all sorts of men in infected places, who have little heart unto it, robbed the poor of much charitable relief, and deprived the people of the spirituall food and physick of their soules, when they need and desire it most, to their intolerable griefe and discontent, but quite suppressed all setled Wednesday Lectures in *London* and other infected townes, as long as the infection shall continue in any one Parish, though it should last these 7. yeares (the thing they principally aimed at:) forced many Ministers and people to flye out of infected places into the Countrey, to keep their Fasts where there is preaching; brought in *a famine of Gods word, the greatest plague of all others*, to the increasing and further spreading of the present pestilence, and drawing down of Gods wrath upon us to the uttermost, by inhi-

biting Miniſters in the time of greateſt need, to preach unto the people, that they may be ſaved. O heavens! ſtand amazed at this unparaleld practiſe of *impious Popiſh Prelates*. But is this all? No verily: for whereas his Majeſty commanded, *That the book of common prayer for the faſt formerly ſet forth by his authority upon the like occaſion, ſhould be reprinted*; theſe *Romiſh Inquiſitors* have miſerably gelded it, after it was new printed, in ſundry particulars. Firſt, they have purged out the prayer for *ſeaſonable weather*, one cauſe of the ſhipwracks and tempeſtuous unſeaſonable weather ſince its publication. Secondly, they have *daſhed the Lady Elizabeth and her children, in the old Collect*, quite out of the new; as they have expunged both them, with our gracious King, Queen, and their children, out of the catalogue of Gods elect, by blotting out this clauſe, *(who art the father of thine Elect, and of their Seed)* out of the *Collect* for them in this and all *new Common prayer bookes*, as if they were all reprobates, and none of the number of Gods elect, either to a temporall or an eternall Crowne. O intolerable impietie, affront, and horrid treaſon! Thirdly, they have left out this *Collect*: *It had been beſt for us, &c.* in the new booke (though the moſt effectuall prayer of all) becauſe it magnifies *continuall, often preaching of Gods word, and the Scriptures*, and calls our powerfull Preachers, *Gods ſervants*. A ſigne theſe Prelates have conſpired together like ſo many execrable Traytors, to extirpate our frequent powerfull Preachers, and continuall preaching of Gods word (as they have done in many places of late) though preſcribed by God himſelfe and our Homilies. Fourthly, they have daſhed this remarkable clauſe out of the firſt *Collect*: *Thou haſt delivered us from ſuperſtition and idolatry* (two grand cauſes both of many former, and our preſent plagues no doubt) *wherein we were utterly drowned, and haſt brought us unto the moſt cleare and comfortable light of thy bleſſed word by which wee are taught how to ſerve and honour thee, and how to live orderly with our neighbours in truth and verity*: the reſt of the *Collect* remaining as before. Now what can be the cauſe of this ſtrange purgation, but a reſolved profeſſed conſpiracie of theſe *Romiſh Prelates*, even now again utterly to drown us in *Popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry* (which have now drowned us in Gods judgements, by their ſtupendious late increaſe among us) *and to remove us out of the moſt cleare and comfortable light of Gods Word, by the which we are taught how to ſerve and honour him* (the true cauſe why they now ſuppreſſe *Lectures, Preaching*, and ſuſpend our powerfulleſt Preachers every where) that ſo we may walke on in *Romiſh, helliſh darkneſſe*, ſerving and honouring the Pope and Divell in ſtead of God, and live in all diſorder without truth or verity. Fifthly, in the ſixth order for the faſt, they

have

have pared away this passage: *To avoid the inconvenience that may grow by by the abuse of fasting; Some esteeming it a meritorious worke, others a good work, and of it selfe acceptable to God, without due regard of the end*; Onely to gratifie the Papists, whose *doctrine* is this, and to place some merit in this present fast: adding this clause to it; *in places where Sermons are allowed by the Proclamation*; on purpose to put downe *Wednesday Lectures*, and preaching in *London*, and other places where any *Parish is infected*. If these Prelates bee thus desperatly wicked and *Popish*, as to take advantage of Gods judgements to suppresse the preaching and Preachers of his word when it is most necessary and usefull, and to countenance, justifie, and set up Popery, superstition, idolatry, error and disorder (the chiefe causes of our plagues) even in these dayes of pestilence, and that is the very *Fast-book* to abuse and mocke God to his face, to dishonour his Majesty, and grieve his peoples soules; how transcendently impious and Popish will they prove, when God shall stay this plague, if they be not deservedly punished for these their notorious impieties? And is it not high time then for his Majesty to punish such Archtraytors to our Faith, Church, Religion, and such true-bred sonnes to Roman Antichrist (from whom Dr. *Pocklington* boasts, they *are lineally discended*) and to execute judgement on them for these strange purgations, and other Romish innovations, whereat the whole kingdome cries shame, which breed a generall feare of a sudden alteration of our Religion? Certainly, till his Majesty shall see these purgations rectified, superstition and idolatry removed, Gods Sabbaths duly sanctified, the suppressed Preachers and preaching of Gods word restored, and purge out some of the *Romish* Prelates and Inquisitors, wee can never hope to abate any of Gods plagues, or draw downe any of his blessings on us by such a Fast and Fastbook as this, but augment his plagues and judgments more & more, which have strangely increased since this fast begun, contrary to all humane reason and probability, whereas it much decreased before; the totall number dying of the plague the weeke before the Fast being but 458. and 58. *Parishes infected*, and the very first weeke of the fast 838. (treble the number the two last greatest plagues) and 67. *Parishes infected, in Cambridge, Norwich, Hampton, Bath*, and other eminent places cleare before, being likewise visited since this Fast begun, a cleare evidence that God is much offended with these purgations, and the restraint of preaching on the Fast day; against which some Prelates are so mad, that they have silenced and persecuted divers Ministers since the Fast proclaimed, there being now so many suspended in our *Norwich Diocesse*, onely for not yeelding to Popish innovation, that

in ſundry Churches they have neither prayers, preaching, nor faſting, which hath brought the plague among them, and made the people at their wits ends, many Miniſters and people there having left the Kingdome, and thouſands more being ready to depart the Land, there being never ſuch a perſecution and havock made among Gods Miniſters ſince Q. *Maries* daies, as a proud inſolent Prelate hath there lately made, againſt all Lawes of God and man, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole Realme. What then can we expect but plagues upon plagues, till ſuch deſperate perſecuters be cut off, and Gods Word and Miniſters reſtored to their former liberty by our moſt gracious Sovaraigne? Perſecution of Gods Miniſters and People, being one chiefe cauſe of plagues. Wherefore, O England, England, if ever thou wilt bee free from peſts and judgements, take notice of theſe thy Antichriſtian Prelates deſperate practices, innovations, and Popiſh deſignes, to bewaile, oppoſe, redreſſe them with all thy force and power. O all yee Engliſh Nobles, Courtiers, and others, who have any love or ſpark of religion, piety, zeale, any tenderneſſe of his Majeſties honour, or care for the peoples, the Church, or Kingdomes ſafety, yet remaining within your generous breaſts, put to your helping hands and prayers to reſcue our Religion and faithfull Miniſters now ſuſpended, from the jawes of theſe devouring Wolves, and tyrannizing Lordly Prelates, who make havocke of them both. O our moſt pious King *Charles*, as thou haſt in two ſeverall Declarations, proteſted before God, to all thy loving Subjects, that thou wilt never give way to the licenſing or authorizing of any thing whereby any innovation in the leaſt degree, may creep into our Church; nor never connive at any *Backſliding to Popery: And that in thy hearts deſire to be found worthy of that Title which thou eſteemeſt the moſt glorious in all thy Crowne, Defender of the Faith.* So now behold theſe deſperate innovations, purgations, and Romiſh practices of thy Prelates, in open affront of theſe thy Declarations; and now or never ſhew thy ſelfe (as wee all hope, beleeve and pray thou wilt) a Prince more worthy of this glorious Title, then any of thy Royall progenitors, by rooting all Popery, Superſtition, Idolatry, Errours, Innovations, out of this Church and Kingdome, by reſtoring the preaching, the Preachers of Gods Word, and purity of his Worſhip, and taking vengeance on theſe perfidious *Prelates*, who have thus gelded thy Faſt-booke (and intend to make an *Index Expurgatorius* upon all other ancient Engliſh Writers ere they bee reprinted, a thing conſiderable) thus openly abuſed thy onely Siſter; and her Children now preſent with Thee, oppreſſed and grieved

grieved thy faithfull subjects, dishonoured thy God, betrayed thy Religion, increased the plague among thy people; and as much as in them lyeth, robbed thee both of thy Gods and peoples loves, and pulled thy Crowne off thy Royall head, to set it on their owne ambitious parts, by exercising all Ecclesiasticall power; yea, Papall jurisdiction over thy subjects in their owne names and rights alone: and by trampling all thy lawes and subjects liberties like Cob-webs, thy subjects like Dogges and dirt under their tyrannicall feet. If thou thus execute judgement on them, and ease thy people from their intolerable tyranny, no doubt, this plague shall bee ceased, and this Fast bee pleasing to the Lord; else hee will not accept it, but proceed to plague more and more. O blessed Soveraigne, that thou didst but heare the severall cries and out-cries of thy people against these persecuting Prelates in many places; especially in our Norwich Diocesse, where little *Regulus* hath played such Rex, that hee hath suspended above threescore of our sincerest, painfullest, comfortablest Ministers, both from their Office and Benefice, so as many of our Churches (as the like was never since King *Iohns* dayes) are quite shut up, and *Lord have mercy upon us*, may bee written on their doores. The people cry for the bread of their soules, and their Ministers are prohibited to give it them. This not onely wounds, but breakes their hearts, and makes them amazed. O therefore! Gracious Soveraigne, help now, and heare the petitions, cryes and teares of thy poore people, and punish these *Popelings* for these and other innumerable oppressions, extortions, innovations and harmes, who suspend, imprison, and ruine others for meere toyes and trifles; yea, for defending your *Royall Prerogative* against their *Papall usurpations*.

This is all the newes I shall now impart in this *Coranto*; the next week God willing, you shall heare of Mr. *Dade* his excommunicating of *Ferdinando Adams*, a Churchwarden in our Town, for not blotting out of this sentence of Scripture written on Mr. *Wards* Church wall over his Court; *It is written, My house shall bee called an house of Prayer, but yee have made it a den of Theeves*: which excommunication is recorded in *Star-chamber*, of our Bishops commanding. *Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel*, out of Mr. *Scots* Church: and of the strange proceedings at Colchester against Mr. *Samuel Burrowes* for inditing *Necoman* for railing in the Communion Table Altarwise, and causing the Communicants to come up to the Raile to receive, in a new unaccustomed manner, contrary to the Statute of 1. *Eliz. c.* 2. and his Majesties Declarations this last *Michaelmas* Sessions: which inditement

the

the Grand-Iury hath found, but his Majesty yet can get no judgement. In the meane time I shall conclude my Newes with the words of *Patrick Adamson*, Archbishop of St. *Andrewes*, in his publicke Recantation in the Synod of Fyff, Aprill 8. 1591. *That the office of a Diocesan Bishop hath no authority at all to support it in the Word of God: That it is onely founded on the politicke device of men: That the Primacie of the Pope, or Antichrist sprung from it: That it is worthily condemned: And that it hath been for five hundred years and more, the chiefe originall and instrument of the suppressing the preaching of Gods Word in all Kingdomes, as all Ecclesiasticall Historians testifie.* I therefore shall close up all with the Collect on St. *Matthias* day; Almighty God, which in the place of the traytor, Bishop *Iudas*, didst chuse thy faithfull servant *Matthias*, to bee of the number of the twelve Apostles, grant that thy Church being alwayes preserved from falle Apostles, may bee ordered and guided by faithfull and true Pastors, through Iesus Christ our Lord. And with the Collect on St. *Peters* day; Almighty God, which by thy Sonne Iesus Christ, hath given to thy Apostle S. *Peter* many excellent gifts, and commandest him earnestly to feed thy flock; make (we beseech thee) all Bishops and Pastors diligently to preach thy holy Word, and the people obediently to follow the same, that they may receive the Crowne of everlasting glory, through Iesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

AMEN.

From Ipswich, November 12. 1636.

Thine in the Lord,

Matthew White.

C

HIS

LO

Bein

the m

Likev

and

A

Like

13

KING CHARLES HIS ENTERTAINMENT, AND *LONDONS LOYALTIE.*

Being a true Relation, and description, of the manner, of the Cities welcome, and expression of the Subjects love to his Royall Majestie, at his Return from SCOTLAND.

Likewise the time and place, where the Lord *Major* and his Brethren the Aldermen, of this glorious Citie, with the rest of the Companies meet, and conduct His Royall Majestie to the Guild Hall to a stately Feast.

And afterward to his Pallace of *Westminster*, there to solace Himself.

Likewise a Copie of Verses congratulating the Kings Return. By *J. H.*

God save the King.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Greensmith*. 1641.

God save the King.

KING CHARLES, HIS ENTERTAINMENT, or *LONDONS* Loyaltie.

THe Cities love has beene expreſt to his Royall Maieſtie in many waies; having beene alwayes readie to lay downe their Eſtates for the generall good, even at his Kingly feet: Yet amongſt all thoſe Acts of Honour, which in the booke of fame, are large, and glorious; thers not one ſo great, thers not one ſo true a Simp-

tome, of their loyall Loves, as this, ſo Royall welcome, this glorious Entertainment of his Maieſtie, ſhall be writ down upon a brazen Tablett, which ſhall endure, and to all future ages, tell the ſtory of the KINGS welcome, and the Cities glory.

A Precept from the Lord *Major*, to the severall Companies, touching the entertainment of His Royall Majestie.

By the Major.

WHereas by a former Precept, you are to prepare, not onely your selves, but also such other persons of your Company, on horseback, in such aray, and such furniture, for the better reception of his Majestie at his approach to this Citie on Thursday next, to be in readinesse by nine of the clock, in the forenoon, of that present Thursday, in *Cornhill*, to go from thence, with me and my Brethren, the Aldermen to *Shore-ditch* Church, there to meet and entertain his Majestie, according to our bounden dutie, and loyall respects due from us Subjects and Citizens, to so Royall a Prince. Therefore upon further consideration, we by vertue of our Authoritie, and as you tender your loyaltie toward the King, will and require you, that with speciall care you appoint the full number of persons, according to my former precept, to be in a readinesse on horseback, so qualified, and habited in Plush, Satin, Velvet, and Chains of gold, as in the former Order you are required to be, and that on *Thursday* next, every person appointed, of all and every particular Companie, on horseback, by eight of the clock in the morning of that day, in the void place, under the Citie wall in *Moore fields*, to attend me and my Brethren the Aldermen, to *Bas* in

near the Town of *Hogsdone*, where by the advice of my Brethren, I have appointed to meet his Majestie, thence to conduct his Royall person to the Guild-Hall; and in the afternoon, from thence to his Royall Palace at *Westminster*.

And further, we do will and require you, that the said persons so by you to be appointed, for this His Majesties entertainment, do weare their Swords, during all the time that they are to attend on horseback, as aforesaid.

Likewise we do will and require you, that you give an especiall charge and command, to all the Footmen appointed by the former Precept, to wait upon them.

That during all the said time that his Majestie is at dinner, in the Guild-Hall, they do stand with their horses in the same order and places where their said Masters alighted, that they may be in readinesse, before his Majestie do rise from dinner, every one to take his place in order without any tumult or disturbance, so to ride forward from thence toward the Kings Royall Palace at *Westminster*, as is intended by us the said Major and Aldermen, whereby we desire with all humilitie to expresse our loyall loves and services to our gratious Soveraigne.

Wherefore we do further require you to take order, that for the greater glory and comelier decencie of this our entertainment, your Footmen appointed to wait on you, be apparelled in Cassocks and Drawers of Cloth, or stuffe garnished with Ribons of the colours of your Com-

panie,

panie, that by that means every Companie may be distinctly known one from the other.

Likewise the same Footmen to carry each of them in their hands a guilded Truncheon in the morning, according to our appointment in the former Decree. And in the afternoon, a couple of Torches also we will and require you, that there be persons appointed, one for every Companie, to ride on horseback in a decent suit garnished, also with Ribins, of the same colours of your said Company.

Likewise that there be provided for the said horseman of every Companie a pendant, with the Coat of Armes of your said Companie, for him to carry before everie Companie, according to their degrees from the first to the last.

And hereof I require you not to fail, as you tender the honour and welfare of this Citie, and your loyalties to our Royall King CHARLES.

Vivat Rex & Regina.

BRave *Charlemaine* return'd, me thinks the sound,
Should all our forrain enemies confound;
And our Domestick foes to friends convert,
In every breast create a loyall heart.
These clouds of darkenesse, whose resistlesse might,
In the Suns absence, turn'd the day to night:
Shall by his presence, vanish, swiftly flie
Like foggy exhalations of the skie,
His glorious rayes of Majestie shall shine
In spight of envy, glorious and divine.
Those demy powers of Paliament which strove
In our Kings absence, to expresse their love

And

And care of us his Subjects, now ſhall finde
A Royall guerdon, thoſe that were inclin'd
To practiſe miſchief, of this Iudge ſhall have
A Regall iudgement, and a legall grave.
Religion that in blankets, late was toſt,
Banded, abuſed, in ſeeking, almoſt loſt,
Shall now be married, and her Spouſe adore,
She now ſhall hate that *Babyloniſh* whore,
That's drunk with miſchief, likewiſe that preſect,
That left the Church, for fear it ſhould infect,
Their purer outſides, thoſe that likewiſe cry
To bow at Ieſus, is Idolatrie:
Brownifts, Arminians, Separatiſts, and thoſe
Which to the Common Prayer are mortall foes,
And cry a Surplice, tipper, or a cope,
Or elſe a Relique of the Pope:
All theſe ſhall have their wiſhes, they ſhall ſee,
The Church now cleans'd from all impuritie.
Religion ſetled, but I fear their evill,
They'le nere be pleas'd, for the beguiling devill
Informs their ſpirits which they hold moſt true,
Be nere ſo holy, there more pure then you:
They are provided of a Barn or Stable,
Much purer far then ever you are able
To make the Church, and thither they will hie,
There no one ſees their vile hipocriſie.
But ſoft I range too farre, the world will frown,
Heaven bleſſe King *Charles*, long may he weare his crown,
His life be proſperous, and his ſeed increaſe,
His Reign triumphant, and eternall peace,
Both on the earth below, above in heaven,
Long live King CHARLES, true Subjects cry, *Amen*.

FINIS.

H

E
Pa

Su

THE HERRING-BVSSE TRADE:

EXPRESSED IN SVNDRY Particulars, both for the building of *Busses*, making of deepe Sea-Nets, and other appurtenances, also the right curing of the Herring for Forreine Vent.

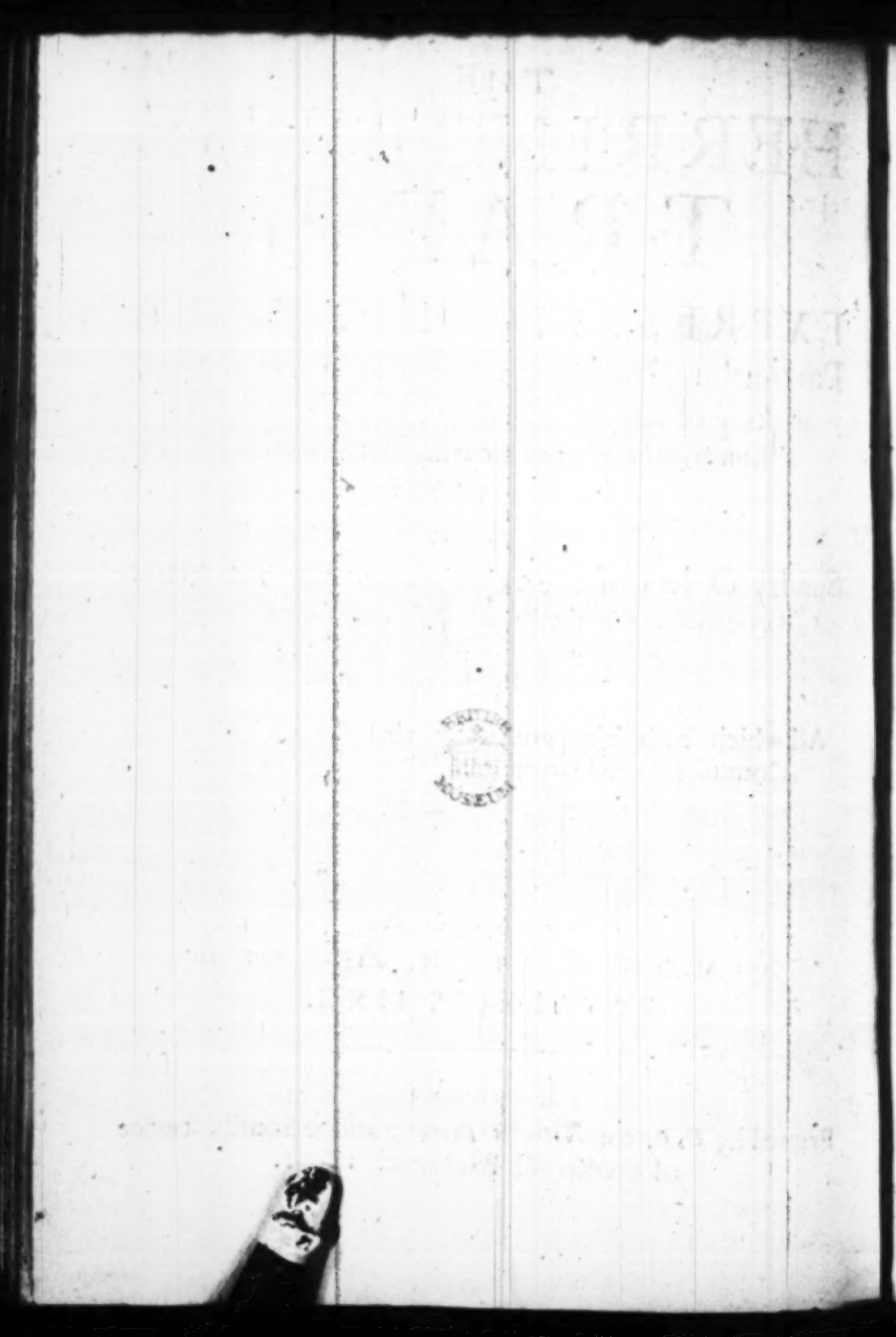
Together with,

Sundry Orders of the *Netherlands*, for the better Governement of the Royall Fishing, as by the following Treatise doth more at large appeare.

All which hath bin perused by the PARLIAMENT Committee, and is appointed to bee published for the generall Direction of the whole Kingdome.

WRITTEN BY
SIMON SMITH, Agent for the ROYALL-FISHING.

LONDON,
Printed by *E. P.* for *Nicholas Bourne*, at the South entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1641.



TO

THE HIGH AND MIGHTY MONARCH CHARLES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD

KING of great *Britaine*, *France*, and IRELAND, Defender of the Faith &c.

SIMON SMITH his Maiesties unworthy Subiect, Dedicateth in most humble wise these his poore endeavours.

To the Reader.

FOr asmuch as I finde divers Treatises published, that have sufficiently already invited unto the Herring-Busse-Fishings, which some well wishers of the Common-Wealth, have bin thereby stirred up to set on the worke; therefore I shall not need to use any further inticements, unto the prosecutting so Royall an imployment, then what is already extant, and as by my Booke called, A True Narration of the Royall Fishings, is expressed, to which doe referre, and in this Treatise onely apply my labours to the publication of such particulars, directions and Orders, as have not heretofore bin published, whereby all places in the Kingdoms may be informed in a right way of mannaging the Herring-Trade with Busses, to their best advantage, which being observed in a way of good Governement in all those places where this Herring-Fishing shall be erected, will doubtlesse (with Gods blessing) prove very beneficiall to all that shall have relation thereunto.

THE

THE HERRING-BUSSE TRADE.

Directions for the building of a Herring BVSSE.

THE length of the *Busse*, from Stemme to Sterne must bee seventy five Foot. That is to say,

45 Foot the length of the keele, which must be, *viz.*

18 Inches deepe, the fore part of the Keele.
12 Inches deepe, the afterpart of the Keele.
14 Inches the breadth of the Keele.

23 Foot the Stem or Rake, which must bee, *viz.*

5 Foot Crooked.
20 Inches broad the fore stem.

7 Foot the sterne Poste must fall backward.

The Sterne-poſt muſt be 20 Feet, and crooked in the inſide 16 Inches, Square in the afterſide, and 7 Inches thicke.

The fore Stem muſt fall in length for vards 23 Foot, 7 foot deepe begets 16 foot and a halfe broad in the Mid-ſhip, within the Tymbers.

10 Foot deepe from the keele, to the uppermoſt Decke.

4 Foot 3 Inches the lower deck from the keele, wherein are 10 double roomes, beſides the Net roomes for ſtoage.

5 Foot 9 Inches betweene the Decks.

The ſtoage will be for 412 Barrels.

Viz.	Barrels.
Foure double roomes before the Cabbins will hold	118
2 Double roomes in the laſtidge, where the Nets are haild in	024
2 Double roomes before the Cabbins	044
1 ſingle roome after the Net roome, will hold	028
1 ſingle roome under the Cabbin, will hold	016
And under the Cabbins, where the men lye	072
And betwixt the Cabbins, in the fore ſtem	100
	412

Which 412 Barrels, reckoning 12 Barrels to the Laſt, produceth 34 Lafts and foure Barrels.

The charge of the ſaid Buſſe.

	l. s. d.
The Hull will coſt for Tymber and Workmanſhip	300-0-0.
The Maſts, Yards, &c.	008-0-0.
The Iron-worke, and Anchors	060-0-0.
The Standing rigging and other ropes	017-0-0.
The three Cables, which muſt be of 100 Fathoms a piece, about, 8 Inches, weighing 13 C. a piece, of one ſieze	060.0.0.
The ſayles and ropes thereunto belonging	032.0.0.
The Blocks and Pumpes, &c.	006.0.0.
The Anchor Stocks	002.0.0.
The Boate and Oares	008.0.0.
The Bricklayer and Painter	002.10.0
The Flags and Ancient	003.00.0
The Compaſſe Maker	001.10.0
	500. 00. 00.

	li. s. d.
Totall is	500. 00. 00.

The charge of the 56 Nets, which the ſaid Buſſe doth uſe at the ſetting iout.

	li. s. d.
4. Deepings of 70 Maſſes a piece, makes 2 Net, whereof 2 coſt 16 s. a piece, and 2 coſt 10. s. a piece, which together is 52. s. for a Net, ſo the 56 Nets amounts to	145.12.0

For

	li.	s.	d.
For Twine Making will coſt 2 s. a Net	005.	12.	0
For Norſels at 8 d. a Net, being 130 to a Net	001.	17.	4.
For 8 Way-Ropes, weighing, 3 C. 2. q. a Rope, at 30 s. *per cent*	042.	00.	0.
For 7 Coyles of 1¼ inches, will be 1 C. a Coyle, which is 7 C. at 28 s. *per cent.* being for Seyſons, the Coyle conteining 64 Fathoms, and each ſeyſon muſt have 8 Fathoms, which coms to	009,	16.	0.
For 14 Coyls of 64 Fathoms, a piece, to make 56 Net-Ropes, weighing 10 c. 2 qu. at 28 s. *per cent.*	014.	14.	0.
For 1 Coyle of 1 C. weight to make Bowleſtraps	001.	08.	0.
For 60 Bowles at 15 d. a piece is	003.	15.	0.
For 6 hundred weight of Cotke at 18 s. *per cent*, is	005.	08.	0.
For 50 l. of Marline to faſten the corks at 4 pence *per* pound	000.	16.	8.
For 80 li. of ſpunne Yarne, to ſave the Bowleſtraps from wearing out, at 18. s. *per Cen*	000.	13.	4.
For the Tanning and Beetſters worke, & pettie charges at 2 ſhillings *per* Net, is	005.	12.	0.
	237.	04.	4.

Nota. Every 7 Nets have a Rope.

The Net-Rope being 16 Fathoms, ſo that a Coyle will make 4 Net-Ropes.

The whole charge of the 56 Nets amounts unto 237 li. 4 s. 4 d. *Which breaketh out* 4. li. 5. *for every Net.*

The

The Consumptive Charge in the two moneths Fishing.

10 Weyes of Spanish Salt is 400 Bushels, water measure, which will make 470 Barrels of Herring, reckoning 6 Bushels to make 7 Barrels of Herring, which doth cost with charges 4 *li.* the wey *li. s. d.* is——40.00.0 Salt.

35 Lasts of Herring Cask, at 22 s. the last 38.10.0 Caske.

2 Dozen of Gipping knives, Adzes, and other Irons——01.00.0

For Baskets and other petty necessaries——01,00.0

The Victualling for two moneths.

Of the Master at 5 s. the weeke is——02.00.0

Of 15 men. 4 s. a piece for a weeke——24.00.0

Of two boyes at the same rate——03.04.0 Victualling.

Some is——29.04.0 Wages.

The wages of the 16 men and 2 boyes——36.00.0

The Master his allowance of 12 d. the Birrell for every Merchantable barrell of Herrings, being on 400 Barrels, the some of——20.00.0. Allowance, for the Nets and Busse.

Some is——165.14.0.

The allowance to make good the Nets which is, usually reckoned at 25 s. a net is for 56 Nets——070.00.0. Here doe reckon but 400 Barrels, and not 470, as is mentioned in the calculate of the salt: is because the 70 overplus is given in for waste, in making fresh pickle.

The weare and teare of the Busse at 10 *li.* a moneth——020-00-0.

The whole charge that is consumed, is——255-14-0.

So the sum of this 2 months imployment will be

The Net-Sales made of the 400 barrels is——400.00.0. Gained in the 2 moneths time.

Deduct the charge aboveſaid——255.14.0.

Remaineth cleer gains in 2 moneths——144.06.0.

The times and places of the Herring Fishings.

To get unto the coast of *Shetland* by the beginning of *June*, when the Herring do rise about *Crane-Head*, which is the headland or outmost part of *Bratio* Sownde, within two leagues, sometimes more, where the Herrings doe abide about 14 dayes.

Cranehead.

Farrie Island.

From thence to *Farry* Island, which is within 7 leagues to the Southward of *Shetland*, where the Herring continue 3 weekes round about that *Farry* Island.

Buffin Deeps.

From thence to *Buffin Nesse*, being about 30 leagues to the Southward of *Farry* Iland, the Fishing place called *Buffin* Deepes, and is 20 Leagues to the Northward of the *Frythe* where the Herring abide about 14 dayes, and 14 dayes more in the Fishing grounds under *Chivet* hils, and *Chivet* Chase.

Chivet Deeps

Doggerbanck.

Thence they follow them to the *Doggerbancke*, where they stay sometimes a Moneth, and sometimes 6 weekes, and then about the beginning of *Septemb.* they come into the *Yarmouth* seas, where they continue untill the middle of *Novemb.* and from thence they fall to the southward, being followed with smal Fisherboats, but dangerous for the *Busses* to follow them.

Lewes Loughs

There is also good Fishing in the Loughes, at the Island of the *Lewes*, very commodious and profitable to those inhabitants, but not so for the *Busses*.

Ile of Man.

Also on the coast of Ile of Man, is great appearance of Herring, which is most proper for those of Leverpoole, but unprofitable for Busses to bee sent from other farre remote ports.

The

The ſeverall ſorts of Herrings, and times of packing them.

There are barrels of Herrings called Sea-ſticks.

And there are barrels called repacked Herrings.

The ſea-ſticks are all the Fiſhing ſeaſon as they come from ſea, which containe betweene 5 and 6 c. Herring as they ſhall riſe in bigneſſe, which being repact on ſhore, 17 Barrels will make but 12 repact Barrels, for the manner is to take out the Herring, waſhing them in their owne pickle, and ſo lay them orderly in a freſh Barrell, which have no ſalt put to them, but trodden downe as cloſe as may be, and ſo headed up. Sea ſtick.

The ſummer Herring which are taken from *June*, to the 15 of *July*, are ſold away in ſea-ſticks, to bee ſpent preſently in regard of their fatneſſe, and will not indure repacking, and ſo goe on with another full and ſhotten; but the repact Herrings are ſorted, the full Herrings by themſelves packed, and the ſhorten and ſick Herring in Barrels by themſelves, marking the Barrels diſtinctly. Summer Herrings. Full and Shorten.

There are alſo a ſort of Herrings called Crux-Herrings, beginning the 14 of *September*. being the day noted *Exal. Crucis*, theſe Herrings are made with ſalt upon ſalt, and are carefully ſorted out (all full Herring) and uſed in the repacking, as before mentioned, and can pack but ten Barrels a day. Crux Herrings.

The Corved Herrings, which are to make red Herrings, are thoſe that are taken in the *Yarmouth* ſeas, provided that they can bee carried on ſhore Corved Herrings.

within 2 or 3 dayes after they be taken, otherwise they must be pickled.

Corved Herring.

The Corved Herrings are never gipped but rowed in salt, for the better preservation of them, till they can be brought a shore, and if any be preserved for to make Red-herrings, they are washed out of the pickle before they be hanged up in the Red-herring houses.

Observations in the Fishing at Sea.

In the evening they cast out their Nets, and so drive all night, and in the morning they get them in againe, and gip, salt and picke all the Herrings before they set on the kettle.

And if so be they get not Herrings, then they sayle up and downe all that day, untill they find a hopefull place to take Herring, and at the breake of day hale in their Nets.

All the day the Busse rides by the anchor whilst the Nets are aboard, and if foule weather, then doe they put out all their Cables at length, and so procure the Busses easier riding and more safety.

The disposall of the men and youths in the laying out of their Nets, and haling them in againe.

First one Net is cast overboord, and so the Busse driving away, the one drawes the rest after it, and when as all the 56 Nets are out, the Busse rides by the Way-rope, every Net hath one rope called a Seyzon whereby it hangs on the Way-rope, which lets downe the Net 8 fathomes deepe into the Sea, to every Seizon belongs a Buye, which is fastned

to

to the Way-rope, and 4 whole Herring Barrels to the whole Fleet of Nets, whereby the better to find out the Nets, in case they should be broken off and lost at any time through stormes, or by accident with some ships rudders comming over, may break them.

Nota. The Flemming is so carefull, that they suffer no ship to go out before the rudder be viewed by sworn men, that their rudders will not take the Ropes.

The imployment of the Men in their Offices, when the Nets are to be haled up.

There is 6 men at the Capsten, then the first Seyzon, comming in the hawse way. 1 Man doth stand there and loosen it from the way-rope, and hee gives it to another man that brings the Net therewith to the last way, where they hale in the Net, and there are two Men standing that pull in the Net, then there are three men more that shake the Herrings out of the Nets into the well, and 1 Man takes the Net from them and stowes it. There is one man with a chop-sticke, catching Cods for the Kettle, and the Master he stands in the chaine waels with the Ladner, to save the Herrings that drop out of the Nets, in haling them in, there is one boy to hold on the way-rope, at the Capsten, and 1 Boy to Coyle it, and stowe it from the Capsten.

When the Nets are haled in with Herrings.

One man takes the Herrings out of the Well with the Ladner, and fils the Gippers baskets.

9 Gippers which cut their throats, and takes out the Guts, and fling the ful Herring into one Basket, and the shotten Herring into another.

One man takes the full Baskets, when they are gipt, and carries them to the rower backe, wherein is salt.

One Boy doth row and ſtirre them up and downe in the ſalt.

One boy takes the rowed Herring, and carries them in Baskets to the Packers.

Foure men pack the Herrings into the Barrels, and lay them one by one ſtraite and even.

One Man when the Barrell is full, takes the ſame from the Packer, and it ſtands one day open to ſettle, and that the ſalt may melt and diſſolve to pickle, and then fills them up, and Heads up the Barrels.

Note, The Maſter is to view and approve every barrell before it bee headed up, that it may bee found Merchantable, or in default thereof, the Maſter is to make allowance accordingly.

For making of the Pickle, the obſervation is, that it muſt be ſo ſtrong, as that a Herring wil ſwim in it, and then it doth ſo pine and overcome the nature of the Herring, that it makes it ſtiffe, and preſerves it, otherwiſe, if the pickle bee weaker then the nature of the Herring, it will overcome the ſtrength of the pickle, and ſo the Herring will decay.

The Imployment of the Fiſhermen and Marriners, whilſt they be in Harbor, and till they come to their Fiſhings outwards bound.

They are to rigge and fit the Buſſe, and to ſtow the Salte, and Beere, which is inſtead of the Ballaſt, they are to take in the Caske and Victualling, and other proviſions.

They

They are to take in the Nets with the Net-ropes, way-ropes, boyes, and all things thereto belonging, and having them aboard, they are to bring the Nets to their ropes, and Noſſell, and Corke them, and make them in all reſpects fit, and in a readineſſe againſt they come to the Fiſhing grownds.

Homewards bownd.

They are to Waſh out their Nets, and take out the Noſſels, and Seyzons, and Corckes, preſerving them all they can in a profitable way.

And to unlade and rowle into the ſtorehouſe all their Herrings, well conditioned in the chines and hoopes.

And having unladen and cleanſed the Buſſe, and made the roomes fit, they are preſently to take into her againe, 56 Freſh Nets, and the like quantity of ſalt, and caske, and other proviſions, and make all expedition to the Fiſhing againe, receiving their wages and allowances according to the orders which are hereafter expreſſed.

Each Gipper muſt have.

Nota. The Gipper is to pay for theſe out of his wages.

A paire of Tanned Leather ſleeves will coſt 18 pence.

A paire of Bootes will coſt 7 ſhillings.

A paire of Boot-Britches will coſt 4 ſhillings.

A Barme-skin or Apron will coſt 3s. 4 d.

And ſixe Gipping knives a man will coſt 18 d.

The

The Plantation for a Fiſhing, where, and how.

In that part of the River or Sea-towne, where theſe accommodations may be had, *viz.*

A good Wharfe to build ſtore-houſes upon, where the Buſſe may come cloſe to the ſtore-houſe, and ſo both lade and unlade with eaſier charge, and quicker diſpatch.

Nota. The willow hoop is beſt for preſervation of the pickle, ſo that the ſalt water will not rot it as it doth the other, for the pickle running out the Herrings ſpoyle.

Alſo where there may be made an Arſinall or docke to harbor up the Buſſes, and there to plant willowes to make hoops for the Caske, and reede for the Buſſes.

To have ground for the Twine-ſpinners and rope makers to worke in, and to lay up ſea-coales and Tanning-barke for to tanne the nets with, alſo to lay up Norway ſhort wood for the Buſſes firing for dreſſing their victuals.

The ſtore-houſes to be built with the lower-ſtory open for the better rowling in and packing of the Herrings, and laying up the proviſions of ſalt, with a large yard in the middle, for the Coopers, to make and trim the Caske. Alſo a convenient place to ſet up a large Copper to tan the Nets, to be of that ſufficient bigneſſe, that it may Tan a whole fleet, of 56 Nets at once. And there muſt be ground adjoyning to put in ſtakes for the drying of the Nets as they are drawne out of the Tanne fat, and hung abroad on thoſe ſtakes, which is done with much eaſe & celerity by one man, and with leſſe damage to the Net then any other way; In the ſecond ſtory, the Nets, Deepings and Twine to be ſafely kept, and there to be wrought by the Beeteſters; and in the upper

Which will be done with as few coales as a Copper that will hold but halfe the nets.

per ſtory, to have the Cables and ropes houſed and coyled, and the ſayles and other proviſions laid up.

The Proviſions to be made aforehand for furniſhing the Magazine.

The beſt Rine and Rusband are theſe, Hempe brought in by the Eaſtland Merchants from the parts of *Leiffeland* and *Pruſia*. To be dreſt & ſpun out for twine and cordage, for making Nets, and Cables, netrops, wayrops, Seizons, Norſels and ſaylcloath, ockum and the like.

Pitch and Tarre from the *Balticke* Seas and *Norway*.

Barrels boards and willow hoopes, from *Hambourgh* and thoſe parts.

Deale-boards, Maſts and Sparres from *Norway* and fire wood.

Lixboan ſalt, and ſalt upon ſalt made in *England*.

Normandy Canvas for ſayles, and *Ipſwich* Canvas.

Peaſe and Oatemeale.

Butter and Cheeſe.

Bacon in Gammons.

Aquavitæ and Vineger.

Gipping-knives and Chopſticks, Adzes and other tooles.

Leather for the Gippers.

Barke of Aſhen-trees for tanning the Nets.

Seacoles for heating the Copper for tanning.

Corke and Roſen from *Burdeaux*.

Candles and other Chandlery wares.

To have a good quantity of Deepings or quarter Nets, alwayes in readineſſe for to new the Nets at the returne of the Buſſes.

And all the Twine that can be gotten of the Summer ſpinning, which is then beſt made both for ſpinning and drying.

The aforeſaid Proviſions being made in dew ſeaſons, will not onely prove very profitable unto the fiſhing ſtock, but likewiſe to whoſoever ſhal be pleaſed to lay out his mony, in all or any of the ſaid proviſions, that ſo the Fiſhers may readily be ſupplyed at their returne, the want whereof hath beene the chiefeſt cauſe of the ill ſucceſſe that hath accrewed unto thoſe former undertakers.

Sundrie conſiderable things offered unto the Magiſtrate.

It would be a great furtherance unto the Fiſhing imployment, and conſequently for the increaſe of Trading; That a Bancke may be erected in the moſt principall parts of the Kingdome, to furniſh the working poore with monies in their ſeverall callings, whereby they may be enabled for to ſet themſelves on worke, paying but after the rate of 8 *per centum*; and that the Brokers Trade may be prohibited in their way of lending monies to the poore, whoſe cruel courſe of lending is upon the garments or ſome houſhold ſtuffe for their ſecurity, taking a halfe peny for the loane of xijd. a weeke, which is 43 s. 4 d. for every twenty ſhillings at the yeares end, beſides the uſing and wearing of the pawne in the meane time, which is intollerable oppreſsing of the poore, and the Commonwealth ſuffers manifold wrong thereby; provided that this Bancke be furniſhed onely with theſe monies of Widowes and Orphans and ſuch like, and none elſe, ſhall receive any increaſe of monies they ſhall bring into this

Bancke;

Bancke; And if the Trade of uſury ſhall be permitted unto the moneyed men of the Kingdome, then that ſuch may be enjoyned to put in a proportionable part into the Bancke, ſuch as ſhall be thought meet.

That the Beggers Trade may be ſuffered no longer, wherein their Land-lords have cheriſhed them in that courſe, which enableth them to pay their rents, and thereby the ſuburbs are greatly encreaſed with ſuch lazie poore, that eate not their bread by the ſweat of their browes, but as evill members in the Commonwealth, makes proviſions deare by the great expence of ſuch idle drones, who for the moſt part of them live without the knowledge of God, and in a way of baſtardy, begets many children never brought to the Sacrament of Baptiſme, which is of a very fearefull and lamentable conſequence. Therefore for remedy it were good, that the Landlords of all ſuch ſhould be commanded under a good penalty, that they ſhall forthwith provide hempe and worke-maſters to inſtruct and teach all ſuch their Tennants for the dreſsing of Hemp, ſpinning of Twine, braiding of deepings, making of Nets and all things thereto appertaining.

That each Ward within the Citty of *London*, may build and ſet forth a Buſſe, which will not require above 1000 l. ſtocke, and thereby all their penſioners and others that wants imployment may be ſet on worke; there being many well diſpoſed people, that would give freely towards the keeping of vagrants at worke.

That convenient places may be appointed for

Hempdreſſers & Twine ſpinners to dwell in, whether the vagrants and ſturdy beggers, that ſhall be found in the ſtreets and wayes may be ſent, the ſtronger to beat the Hemp, the lame to turne the wheeles, the children to ſpin the Twine, and the women to braid deepings.

That ſuch Countries youths and others that ſhall be imployed into the Fiſhing imployment, may be apparelled and maintained at the charge of the Town or place from whence they ſhall be ſent or doe be long, untill ſuch time as they ſhall be made capable of the Trade, and all to doe good ſervice.

That whereas the vente of the pickled Herrings is in the Balticke Seas, from whence great ſtore of Corne is brought by the Hollander, who having Granaries provided at each Port, for the laying up thereof, and liberty to export the ſame, thereby many thouſands of labouring people are imployed by carrying and tending thereof, alſo many hundreds of great Merchants ſhips ſet on worke, both in the importing and exporting thereof, which Magazeene of Corn doth not only feede the Fiſhers and labourers and furniſh the ſhips, but alſo greatly increaſeth Trade, bringing home gold and ſilver and other merchandizes, both profitable to his Majeſtie and people. The like accommodation of Granaries and exportation would much advance the Fiſhings.

The

The States Proclamation and Ordinances, translated out of Dutch, concerning the taking, salting, harboring, chusing, packing, raising and laying of Herrings.

THe States of *Holland* and *Westfrizeland*, unto all those shall see, heare, or read these presents send greeting. WHEREAS through careleſnes and length of time, the order heretofore set, for catching or taking and harboring of Herrings is not well kept and maintained in such sort, that some for their particular profit, doe catch Herrings before the time and season, doing the same faults, they bring them to the Markets, and sell them before they be seasonable and fit to be eaten by the people; That some also (for the better to cover their misdoings) doe send the said Herrings directly to the East, and also closely send them through these Countries upwards without landing the same here in the Countrie, at the usuall places where is duely attendance; all this same causing not alone in these, but also especially in others Lands, where the said Herrings is conveyed away and diverted, a great distaste, disgrace and contempt of the Herring in such sort, that the taste of good Herrings is hereby taken away from the people, and the good Herrings is thereby made noysome, and must remaine and lye with the bad ones: That also the Herring taken in sea is naughtily salted, severed and lyd in barrels, all with great losse and damage of the Merchants interessed therein, and consequently to the spoyle of the Trade of the generall Fishing for Herrings, and of

the great Fishings, being one of the principall meanes and happinesse of these Countries, and the Inhabitants thereof; so it is, that for the speedy prevention thereof, we with the advice of the Deputies of the townes, who live by the said Fishing for Herring, and great Fishing, have ordeined and appointed that which hereafter ensueth.

I. *Prohibition.*

That no man shall presume from henceforwards to dresse or to make wet, any Nets, for to catch Herrings before *S. Iohns* day, at Midsummer, but upon the same day, and after that till the last of *Ianuary*, included, every one may freely dresse or make his Nets, and every Pilot shall bee obliged at his arrivall, to declare upon Oath, with two of his marriners, that he hath not dressed or wrought with his said Nets, before the said day: and if any one shall make any Nets wet before the said time, shall forfeit 200 *Carolus* Gilders, and the Herrings which he shall have taken, or the value thereof.

2 *Prohibition.*

Vnder the said prohibition, are not comprehended the Fishermen and other, who goe to sea, to take Codfish, unto whom is granted to take Herring before *S. Iohns* day, for their owne baits and otherwise, or further not; and they are forbidden to garbish or draw any Herring, before the 25 of *Iune*, or to salt and put them in Pots, Barrels; or small Firkins, or to sell them at sea, ungarbished, salted or unsalted, or to bring them a shore, be it to divide, sell,

ſell, turne over, or otherwiſe to diſtribute them upon like penalties, as hereabove ſaid, againſt the unſeaſonable taking of Herrings, is ſet downe.

III.

Alſo all ſteeresmen, ſhip Maſters, and all others are forbidden by theſe preſents, that no man ſhall preſume, having brought ſome freſh or Pannier herring in theſe Countries, for to garbiſh here the ſame, to ſalt, and to put the ſame in Barrels, for to be tranſported, much leſſe ſold in theſe or other Lands, upon forfeit of the ſame herring, and beſides upon penaltie to forfeit 3 Gilders, upon every Barrell, to yeeld one third part to the Officer, who ſhall execute it, one third part for the poore of the towne, where the ſame hapneth, and one third part for the Meſſenger.

IV.

No man ſhall preſume in Sea, to deliver over, ſell, or barter any Herring, otherwiſe then unto thoſe that are thereunto appointed or ſuffered by the Magiſtrates, in the Townes of the ſaid Traffick, of *Holland* and *Weſtfrieſland*, with the Steerſman, & at leaſt with 2 or 3 of their Marriners muſt make to appeare by a printed bill, ſealed and ſubſcribed as is rehearſed in the following Article, to declare the ſame at their comming, according to the ſixth Article of this Ordinance; and if ſo bee any man, otherwiſe delivers over Herring, the ſteeresman ſhall forfeit the Herring ſo delivered over, or the value thereof, and beſides that a penaltie of 300 Gilders

to

to be paid out of the ſteereman or Pilots owne Goods, without the charge of the owners; ſo that the owners ſhall hold and keep their regreſſe to the ſteeres-man, for to recover the value and damage of the Herring ſo forfeited; and moreover the Pilot ſhall be put off from his ſervice, or be held unſufficient.

(5)

All thoſe that deſire to chaſe at Sea, or to follow the Buſſes, ſhall require an act of conſent from the Magiſtrates of the Fiſhing Trade, in the places where they launch or put off, for to purſue the ſaid Trade of Fiſhing, untill the 15 of *July* and no longer, which ſhall be granted them under the Seale of the Fiſhing, from whence they put off, by a printed bill ſubſcribed by the Secretary of the ſame place, ſo that he ſhall firſt promiſe under Oath, or by his Turth inſtead of his Oath, to take over no pickled Herrings, but from the ſhips of *Holland* and *Weſt-friezeland*, and that they ſhall bring atteſtation from every ſteereſman, of whom they carrie over Herrings, ſigned by the ſaid ſteeres-man, and Maſter by whom the herrings is delivered over, with two of his Marriners, comprehending the name of the Mr. where hee lyeth, and how the ſhip is called, with the quantity of Herring ſo taken over, and that the ſame alſo after S. *Iohns* day be taken, drawne, ſalted, and put up in Barrels in their ſhips, upon forfeiture of the Herring, or value thereof; which they take or carry over without the ſaid act of conſent, or otherwiſe then from the Ships of the ſaid countries, or alſo without the like atteſtation. *Item* that they

they ſhall take over no freſh Herrings or panniers of Herrings, then thoſe that are taken after Saint *Iohns* day aforeſaid upon like penalty as before; and it is interdicted and forbidden all ſteirſmen or Pilot for to ſell or deliver over pickle Herrings unto any Chaſers, after the 15 July aforeſaid in ſmall or great, upon forfeiture of the Herrings at the charge of the ſteirſman, and the monies given for the ſame at the charge of the buyer, without that any thereof ſhall fall to the charge of the owners.

(6)

No Chaſers, Steireſmen or *Fiſhers*, ſhall dare to bring Herrings any where elſe then in *Holland* or *Weſtfreizeland*, in the places where they drye Herrings, or where they are wont to give certificate of the taking of Herring, upon forfeit of the Herring or the valew thereof, and beſides upon paine to pay 200 Gilders, and the ſaid ſteirſmen, ſhall at their firſt arrivall come and declare by oath (or by the truth in ſtead of oath) before the Magiſtrates of the Towne and places where they arrive, with three of their Marriners, before they unlade any Herrings out of their ſhips, be it firſt or laſt Herrings, how much Herrings they have made over and to whom; and alſo that they have delivered over no Herrings to any body, ſaving unto ſuch who have ſhewen them the lawfull acte of conſent, whereby the ſaid Trafficke is granted unto them, and that the ſame, as alſo all the Herrings, beſides which they bring in was taken after Saint *Iohns* day, and drawne and garbiſhed in their ſhips, ſalted and put

in barrels; that alſo they have not wrought or made wet any Nets before Saint *Iohns* day; likewiſe if they have not done any hurt to any in Sea, or have ſuffred no hurt of none, upon penalty to forfeit 40 Gilders by the Steirmen out of their proper goods.

7

Alſo no Inhabitant of *Holland* and *weſtfreizeland*, ſhall ſeeke to have any part or portion in any ſhips, or boats, which are ſent out of the Countries of *Holland* and *weſtfreizeland*, for to follow the Chaſe or Buſſes, upon penalty of 600 Gilders to forfeit upon every ſhip or boat, and the complaint hereof may happen at all times, when the ſame is or ſhall be diſcovered, without being preſcribed in leſſer time then 20 yeares.

8

The firſt Herrings ſhall not be ſould for to ſpend or conſume within the Countrie, or be diſtributed others then ſuch as ſhall be taken after Saint *Iohns* day aforeſaid, and at leaſt, hath laine 10 dayes in the firſt pickle, which being made manifeſt unto the choiſe Maſters in the particular Citties, they ſhall put a round circle upon the barrels, betweene the head hoope and belly-hoope, upon forfeit of the Herrings (which ſhall be put to ſale to be ſpent in theſe Countries) or the valew thereof, if ſo be the ſame ſhould chance to be ſold before the bringing in, to diſtribute one third part to the Officer, one 3 part to the poore, and one third part to the Meſſenger.

(9)

All Steirſmen muſt have a different marke therewith

with to marke the Herrings which they bring out of their ſhips a ſhore, or put overboard in any boats or ſhips before they deliver it; and they muſt put the ſaid marke upon the ſtaple or nie therennto, upon forfeit of ſix ſtivers upon every barrell which is not marked.

(10)

The ſaid ſteirſman of the Citties or places where Herring Buſſes or other ſhips ſmall, or great living by the fiſhing for Herrings doe goe out and come in, ſhall be bound to bring their names and marks wherewith they ſhall marke their Herrings when it is brought a ſhore or put overboard, to be regiſtred in the Secretaries Office of the places where they deſire to harbor, and marke them themſelves, after they ſhall be arrived from the firſt voyage, upon penalty of three pounds, of 40 groots by the ſteereſman or Pilot who ſhall take the Herring, and put it in barrels.

(11)

All ſteereſmen, ſhall be alſo bound to doe their beſt endeavoured and diligence; that the ſaid Herrings be laid even foure in length in his partitions from one bottome to the other, without caſting the Herrings with baskets into the barrels, and if any one be found to doe the contrary, the Pilot or Maſter of the Buſſe or other ſhips ſmall or great living by fiſhing for Herrings, ſhall forfeit the Herrings which is throwne into the barrels with panniers or geſpen, and thoſe which are not laid 4 in length in their partitions, upon every barrell where the deceit lyeth two ſhillings Flemmiſh, and be

corrected according to arbitrement; and yet beſides the Merchant thereof to mend his loſſe well, underſtanding that the ſteereſman may againe recover the forfeiture and loſſe of the Merchant, by the fellow that layd the Herring, who to that purpoſe ſhall be bound to ſet his marke within the barrell, an hand broad below the bowle, and the arbitrary correction ſhall be directed againſt that fellow or Saylor who hath layd the Herrings, as farre as he hath done or committed a fault beyond the knowledge of the Pilot.

(12)

Likewiſe no man ſhall colour, falſifie or change the Herring, nor mixe the old Herring under the new, much leſſe to lay unfitting Net-herrings by the faire and good Herrings in barrels, upon the forfeiture of the Herrings, and three Gilders upon every barrell, and beſides that correction of the Magiſtrate.

(13)

Every ſteerſman ſhall be bound to cauſe the Herring to be well divided, the well growne from the thin, the row milſe Herrings and the reſt, and each to be put in barrels by themſelves; likewiſe to marke the middle ſort of Herrings taken after Saint *Johns* tide with a knot upon the belly of the barrell, and the thin Herrings or ſhotten, after Saint *Johns*-tide, with a knot betweene the third and belly hoop.

(14)

Alſo each ſteereſman ſhall be bound before he ſell his Herrings, to ſay for what ſort he will ſell them, for full and ſweet, brakiſh, roe-ſicke cleere

or

or pure ware, and if it be found out bad in the delivery, the ſame ſhall be parted ſeverally by the choice Maſters, who muſt keepe a good Regiſter of the entrie; that alſo the ſaid ſteereſman ſhall be found to make out preſently all the ſmall ſalted Herrings, and before that any be layd under decke, each with ſeverall marke, the *Iamſes* Herrings with *I.* the female with *V.* the Bartholmews with *B.* and the *Crwv* Herrings with an X. upon penalty to forfeit 3 Gilders for every barrell unmarked, and every ſteereſman with two of his Marriners muſt declare at their arrivall in the Clarks Office, that they have marked the Herrings at ſea in manner as aforeſaid, and each a part before they were put under the hatches.

(15)

The ſteereſman ſhall according to conveniency of the Skoles and places of fiſhing, ſalt the Herring, as he ſhall find to be fitting according to his diſcretion, and advancement of the fiſhing.

Of the choiſe, packing, and rayſing of the Herrings.

(16)

That from henceforwards, the Herrings when they ſhall be arrived from Sea, muſt be prayſed at leaſt within 3 weeks after that the ſame ſhall be ſold or ſent away into other places, without that the ſame appraiſed Herrings, only in regard of the firſt fellers, ſhall be ſubject or lyable to any higher or more valuation in other Citties and places.

(17)

It is forbidden that no body may rayſe or packe

any Herrings but in the Lords ſtreet, or at the Keies, or in the places where the ſame is wont to be done, and that with dores open, where every one may goe out and in without hinderance at their pleaſures, upon penalty that thoſe that packe or rayſe with the dores ſhut, or hinder any body of their entrance, ſhall forfeit ſix pounds of 40 groots the pound to the behalfe of the Officer, ſo often as it ſhall be found to be done contrary hereunto.

(18)

And the choyſe Maſters ſhall take good heed that no unpure Brakiſh, Roe-ſicke, want pickle, milch-ſicke, or other unfitting Herrings, be filled up, rayſed or packed with pure Herrings, but men ſhall rayſe and fill up the unpure with the like Herrings, upon penalty of three pounds of 40 groots, each to be forfeited upon every barrell, as well by the Merchant as alſo by the Packer, Rayſer, Cooper, and each of them ſeverally, that are imployed about the packing of the ſaid Herring; and for to effect the ſame fitly, there ſhall be no Herrings hereafter packed or rayſed for to goe beyond the Seas, unleſſe that the Rate-maſters having beene called thereunto, ſhall have eſtimated them, that no other but good ware be packed with good, and the unpure with the unpure, upon the penalty aforeſaid, and that the deceit may the better be diſcovered, the Maſter of the place where the Herrings ſhall be rayſed or packed, muſt put his marke without upon the barrels under the 2 uppermoſt hoops, between the third hoope and the necke-hoope.

(19)

(19)

All Coopers shall be bound in the rayſing of the Herrings, for the firſt to rayſe all bad and naughty barrels without therein to ſeeke their owne advantage, and in the packing from bottome to bottome, to take good barrels all at the pleaſure of the Merchant or Rate-maſters, who are to looke therunto, upon penalty, that if the Coopers, Packers, or thoſe that are found at the rayſing to be faulty therein, foure groot Fleming to be forfeited upon every bad or unfit barrell, and moreover to rayſe the ſame againe, or new packe it in a new barrell without the charge of the Merchant.

(20)

Alſo the Coopers may not hoope any dryed or other rayſed Herring barrell, with halfe barrell hoops, nor alſo with greene hoops before the middle of March, but with good whole barrell hoops.

(21)

They ſhall bind no Herrings going over Sea with leſſe then with 14 hoops, the valuation remayning upon the binding of the hoops in their being good or bad.

(22)

And becauſe wee underſtand, that ſome perſons of theſe Countries for their ſpeciall profit, in former yeares have undertaken to packe divers Herrings in unfitting caske, as in Salmon and other unfit barrels, to the great dammage and prejudice of the common Trade; Therefore we prohibite by theſe Preſents, that no body from hence forwards, ſhall dare to packe any Herrings in Salmon or other unfit barrels, but onely in barrels which ſhall be made

and

and dryed according to the Proclamation made and Ordinance publiſhed for the making, rating and burning of the Herring barrels upon the forfeiture of the Herrings, and there beſides ten *Carolus* Gilders upon each peece, either ſmall or great to be beſtowed to the Officer, the Informer and the poore each a third part.

(23)

As alſo it is forbidden, that no Packers, Coopers and Wharfemen of theſe Countries, ſhall dare to packe any herrings in Salmon or other unfit barrels, upon penalty of being preſently put out of their places.

For the Salt.

(24)

No body ſhall put any Spaniſh ſalt, or Portugall ſalt in cheſts, ſellers or barrels, before that the ſame ſhall be viſited and appraiſed by the Rate-maſters thereto appointed, upon the penalty to forfeit 25 Gilders upon each hundreds.

(25)

That no ſteereſman or others from henceforwards, may carry any ſalt to Sea in their ſhips for to ſalt herrings therewith, but Spaniſh or Portugall ſalt, which muſt be viewed by the Rate-maſters againe before they may take in the ſame into their ſhips as before; and muſt alſo ſtrike open all barrels therof not being full, rayſe them and ſet their uſuall marke thereupon, upon penaltie that the ſteereſman that ſhall be found to have ſalted herrings with ſalt not having beene the ſecond time viewed as before,

ſhall

ſhall forfet 36 Gilders, and the ſteereſman in the Certificat of the Herrings muſt alſo declare, that their caught Herrings is ſalted with good appraiſed Spaniſh or *Portugall* ſalt before that the ſame Herring ſhall be ſold or rayſed.

(26)

The ſteereſman ſhall be bound, upon the command of the Rate-maſters to beate open by his Marriners, and to ſhut againe the barrels of ſalt, and the Rate-maſters that for their apprayſement and viſiting of each barrell of ſalt, at each time have a Doite, to be payed the firſt time of the appraiſement by the Seller, and the ſecond time by the Buyer.

(27)

In caſe of the rating of the ſaid ſalt, any deceit were found to be done in the Caſes or ſellers, the vender thereof, ſhall forfeit 200 *Carolus* Gilders, all which ſaid 3 penalties or forfeiturs ſhall be applyed, one third part to the Officer who ſhall execute it, the ſecond third part, to the Fiſhings, and the laſt part to the poore.

(28)

That no body from henceforwards ſhall dare to ſalt the Herring with any French ſalt, either *Seuſters*, *Olderdoms*, *Buocue*, *Saint Martin*, *Brouage*, *Streight*, *Weſt-India*, and the Ile of *Maie* ſalt, upon forfeiture of the Herrings that ſhall be pickled or ſalted therewith.

(29)

All the penalties and forfeitures, which by theſe and the former Articles have been appointed againſt

the ſteereſman, they muſt be paid out of his owne goods, without that he bring the ſame in whole or in part to the charge of the ſhip or owners.

(30)

The ſteereſman going for Herrings, ſhall be bound to ſalt the pure Herrings caught after Saint *Iames* tyde, *Bartholmew* tyde or *Crux* tyde, whereof men deſire to packe, circle, or burnt with ſmall ſalt boyld of ſalt, according to the Contract therefore made with thoſe of *Cullen*.

(31)

No body ſhall receive any white or ſmall ſalt, but by a due Certificat from the place where the ſame ſalt is made, upon forfeiture of the ſalt, whereof the ſhip-maſter, who brings the ſame ſalt from the ſaid place, where it is made, that the ſame ſalt is not altered, or to their knowledge diminiſhed, ſince that time they have taken or received it into their ſhips, but that the ſame is left in, being according to the Contents of the Certificate, upon forfeiture of the Salt, in caſe the Ship-maſter is owner thereof, and in caſe not upon forfeiture of the valew thereof, to be recovered of his perſon, ſhip, and goods, and that he moreover ſhall be puniſhed for perjury, all more largely ſpecified and declared in the Order formerly made with the Deputies of *Cullen*, which by theſe Preſents is not altered or diminiſhed, but approved.

(32)

That men ſhall carry out no other pickled Herrings into *France*, nor any parts of *Flanders* and further out weſtward, but the great *Roan* Brandt Herrings

rings caught and packed after *Crux*-tyde; *Item*, that men ſhal not carry thither, nor to *Breamen*, *Hamburgh*, *Cullen* and other Citties or places, Herring ſalted with courſe ſalt and packed from bottome to bottome, as well the full as the ſhotten Herrings for to be ſold for ſoure, or refuſe all and every point, upon forfeiture of the Herrings, or the valew thereof, and there beſides to forfeit upon every barrell *6 Carolus* Gilders, and correction from the Sherifs to be applied, the one third part to the Informer or Informers, whether the ſame be Marriners or other perſons, one third part for the Officer, and one third part for the poore to be executed, when the ſame ſhall happen to be knowne, although that it were after the expiration of ſome yeares thereafter.

(33)

Prohibiting alſo expreſſely by theſe Preſents, that no Packers, Coopers and wharfmen of thoſe Countries, ſhall dare to packe any courſe ſalted Herrings, either full or ſhotten, from bottome to bottome, upon penalty not onely to be put from their place, but alſo declared uncapable, and further not to be admitted or for to be imployed againe in any City or other particular ſervices.

(34)

That no body may burne any marke upon the Herring barrels, but every one may ſcrape his marke thereupon with the marke iron, upon penalty as aforeſaid, beſides the great and ſmall burnt marke, which is ſent to *Hamburgh* or elſewhere, upon which the name or marke of the Seller, together with the number of the yeare ſhall be burnt.

(35)

That no Herring barrels which have beene once ſent out of the Countrie, with raiſed or packed Herrings, may be carryed to Sea againe for Herrings to be laden therein, upon forfeiture of the ſame Herrings.

(36)

And for the better preſerving and keeping of the ſaid Trade of Fiſhing and Herring voyage in theſe Countries, it is prohibited and forbidden, that no Maſter land, or any forreine Herrings ſhall be waſhed, harboured, new packed or otherwiſe made up here in the Countries, but men ſhall onely tranſport them made up in barrels, in ſuch manner as they are brought into theſe Countries upon penaltie of the forfeiture of the ſame.

(37)

All penalties and forfeitures, whereof heretofore there hath beene no application made ſhall, come one third part to the Informer or Informers, whether the ſame be Marriners or others perſons, one third part to the Officer who ſhall execute the ſame, and one third part to the poore.

(38)

'. And that the ſaid Herring Voyage and Trade thereof, and this Ordinance may be fully in all good order maintained and obſerved, the ſteereſman ſhall be bound each to have ſuch an order with him, and to take it with him to Sea, to the end they may not pretend any ignorance.

39

The Officers may not compound for any of the ſaid

ſaid treſpaſſes or contraventions, without the expreſſe conſent and preſence of the Burrow-maſters of the places, and ſuch compoſitions made without their conſent, ſhall be held for voyd, and of no valew; And alſo that notwithſtanding the ſaid Burrow-maſters and pay-maſters and others thereunto by them authorized, may purſue and execute the ſaid mulcts upon the delinquents, and apply the ſhare of the ſaid officer for the benefit of the Citty.

(40)

And the Deputies of the Cities, living by the ſaid Herring voyage and great fiſhing, may at all times conceive and make ſuch Orders & Ratements as they in future times, for the welfare of the ſaid Trade and commerce thereof ſhall find to appertaine.

(41)

And becauſe we are well and certainely informed, that all the ſaid points doe tend to the preſervation and amendment of the ſaid Trade. *Therefore we doe* ordaine all and every one whom the ſame may concerne, punctually to governe themſelves according to the Contents hereof, upon the penalties and forfeitures ſet downe in each Article which we doe underſtand well, and ordaine ſhall be ſtrictly executed againſt all delinquents, and to the end no body may pretend ignorance thereof; We doe command and authorize the firſt Meſſenger for the Court of *Holland* hereupon required, to publiſh the Contents of theſe Preſents, every-where within the Citties and places of *Holland* and *weſtfreizeland* where the ſame ſhall be needfull. *Donne in the Hage,*

under the usuall Seale of the States of *Holland*, hereupon imprinted in manner of a Proclamation, reviewed and decreed on the last of Aprill, 1632.

By Order of the States,

Vander Wolffe.

Placaert, Of Orders about Fishermen, and Mariners; about hiring them, &c.

The States of the Countries of *Holland*, and *Westfriezeland*, unto all those shall see these presents, or heare, or read them greeting. WHEREAS, through the length and alteration of the times, many faults and misdemeanours are happened in the hiring of Marriners, hiring themselves for the herring fishing Voyage, and that it is needfull to provide therein by all due meanes and remedies, that the complaints of the Steeresmen, and common owners; therefore so it is, that wee at the request of the Committees of the Cities, getting their living by the same Herring Voyage, and Fishing, have ordeined and established, doe ordeine and establish by these Presents, the Points and Articles following.

I.

That all persons from henceforth, hiring themselves with Steeresmen, for the Herring Voyage shall be bound to performe their worke and service, so as the Steeresman shall command them without, to depart from it, without the expresse consent or will

will of the Steereman, upon penaltie that the ſteerman may rebate the ſame Marriner for each quarter of the day, five Stivers, for halfe a day ten Stivers, and for a whole day twenty Stivers, and that on the firſt quarter of an houre that hee ſhall come after that he ſhall have tarried from his worke, and in caſe the matter be brought in Court, then the marriner ſhall forfeit to the Officers, three *Carolus* Gilders.

II.

And if any body hire himſelfe to a Steereſman for any worke, either for packing, cleanſing, hooping, building, or other ſhip-workes, or doe not do the ſame, or could not doe it, or that any body being at ſea, overcharge himſelfe with drinke, the ſteerman comming from ſea, may diſcharge him, and abate him the ſixth penny of his wages agreed for.

III.

That the Mariners having hired themſelves unto a ſteereſman, and afterwards hiring themſelves againe to another ſteereſman, ſhall forfeit therefore the penaltie of ten Gilders, and more, the Arbitrary of the Sheriffes and ſteereſman, knowing the ſame, and ſuch hired Mariners ſhall forfeit the like ten Gilders: and in caſe the ſteerſman were admoniſhed thereof by a Meſſenger, and notwithſtanding went yet to ſea with the ſame mariner, hee ſhall forfeit for each Mariner, whereof he hath bin warned, twenty Gilders, the one halfe to be to the Officer of the place, who ſhall take notice thereof, and the other halfe for the poore; and for to prevent the ſame,

ſame, the ſteerſman ſhall be bound before he accept of them, to demand of the mariners, if they are not hired with any body elſe, before he hire them; and alſo no other ſteereſman knowing it, or afterwards being warned thereof, and leaving his firſt ſteerman, may have them, and goe to ſea with them, each alſo upon the like penaltie: and the firſt ſteereman with whom the bargaine is made, ſhall have his free will and choice, whether he will carry ſuch an untrue mariner in his ſhip, for the firſt hire agreed upon or no, and if ſo be the ſteerman doe not deſire to have him, he ſhall not bee bound to give him the ſame hire or wages remaining, nevertheleſſe the mariner that hireth himſelfe the ſecond or third time fallen into the penalties, and to be corrected as aforeſaid, and that out of their own goods, and the Mariners having hired themſelves for to goe with any ſteereman for Herring, and abuſing the ſteereman ſhalbe bound to ſtand to the firſt ſentence of the court of the place where they have hired themſelves, for to goe from thence, without they may decline or appeale to the places where they are dwelling; and that to that end, it ſhall be enough, that their perſons, where they ſhall be found, or at their laſt dwelling place, notice left, or ſummons be done, with intimation, that whether they appeare or not, that juſtice ſhall be done to the ſteereſman, and the Officer from the place that they have hired themſelves to go from, by the Sheriffes or Judges of the ſame places whence they were hired, upon the contents of the Article of the ſame Proclamation; and in caſe they be there condemned by the Judge, either appearing

pearing in Court, or by contempt upon ſuch a ſentence obteyned, there ſhall be granted rigorous letters of execution, for to be executed by the Meſſenger alone, or if the ſame were judged by the Court of *Holland*: Notwithſtanding any oppoſition or appeale, and without prejudice thereof.

IV.

That a Steereſman lying ready for to goe to Sea, The Marriners ſhall be bound to come a ſhipboard at the time and houre appointed them by the ſteereſman, and if any body come not on ſhipboard and the ſteereſman went to ſayle free, ſhall forfeit a penalty of ſix pounds to the Officer, and there beſide be corrected at the cenſure of the Sheriffes.

V.

That all Marriners and hyrelings comming from Sea, at each voyage ſhall receive their hire, on condition, that the ſteereſman or Book-keper, ſhall keep in foureteene dayes hire of every voyage, wherewith they ſhall be contented, and without murmuring ſhall goe to Sea againe, upon forfeiture of the mony that ſhall be dew to them from the ſteereſman, to the profit of the ſhip, and ſix *Carolus* Gilders more to the profit of the Officer, and if hee ſtrike the owner or ſteereſman, hee ſhall be corrected at the cenſure of the Sheriffes, provided that when he is gone to ſea againe with his ſteereſman with whom he firſt hyred himſelfe, that the ſame ſteereſman or Book-keper, muſt preſently pay the detained mony unto whom it ſhall pleaſe them.

VI.

In caſe that the ſteereſman come in through any want, of bad fortune, warre, leakage of ſhips, or any other loſſe of Tackell, and for that or other cauſes to continew further his Trade, it ſhall ſuffice in paying the Marriners, according to the courſe of the time till Saint *Lucies* day, the thirteenth of December, provided, that if the ſteereſman

thinke fitting to ſtay longer at ſea for to Trade, the Marriners ſhall ſerve the ſteereſman ſo long as he thinks good, on conditions, that they ſhall be payed therefore according to the courſe of the time for their hyre, ſo as hereafter is declared in the ſeventh Article, but if the ſteereſman depart out of his Trade on Saint Lucies day, and tarry longer by the way, through bad weather and wind, in ſuch a caſe he ſhall pay the Marriners no more then untill that day, and all the Marriners when they arrive, ſhall be bound to helpe to cut them off all, upon penaltie for unwilling Marriners their whole hyre, and alſo correction at the cenſure of the Sheriffes, and in caſe the ſteereſman cut off within the fiſhing time, and the owners find it not good that he ſhould goe to Sea againe, and in paying the Marriners more then for the courſe of the time, the owners may recover of the ſteereſman or of the Book-keeper, and muſt be payed out of his owne goods upon the penaltie of one hundred Gilders, the one halfe for the Officer, one fourth part for the Informer, and the remaining fourth part, for the poore at the place where they ſhall be recovered.

VII.

And in caſe any ſteereſman loſe his ſhip by ill fortune of the ſea or of the ſands, he ſhall be bound to pay the hyrelings according to the time that they have gone with him, in caſe ſo much goods be ſaved, that beſides the ſalary for the ſaving of them, the hyre ſhall be payed according to the courſe of the time of the ſame goods, *viz.* that all the weekes for the fiſhing ſhall be reckoned from Lammas day to Saint *Lucies* day, thoſe eight weekes for twelve; but in caſe the ſhip and goods ſhall be taken or ranſomed by the enemie or Pyrats, the hyre of the Marriners or hyrelings ſhall ſtand at the diſcretion and moderation

ration of neutrall ſteereſmen, or finally of the Judge whence ſuch a ſhip went forth according to the quality of the buſineſſe.

VIII.

That no body may cauſe any Herring, either freſh or other to be carryed out of the ſhip upon forfeiture of twenty ſtivers, for the benefit of the Officer, and to reſtore the Herring to the ſteereſman, the correction at the cenſure of the Sheriffes, unleſſe the ſame happened with the conſent and knowledge of the ſteereſman.

IX.

That none ſhall ſend or carry any Beere out of the ſhip, nor alſo call any body from without into the ſhip, upon the ſaid penalty of twenty ſtivers, and cenſurable correction as before.

X.

What Marriners or Mate have received mony or Herrings of the ſteereſman, and runne away therewith, ſhall be bound to reſtore to the ſteereſman the monies or Herrings received, and beſides, ſhall forfeit a penalty of twenty Carolus Gilders, one third part for the benefit of the Officer, the other third part, to the behoofe of the ſhips, and yet ſuffer the Arbitrary correction of the Sheriffes.

XI.

Who ſhall be hurt or ſhot in the ſhips worke, in warre by the occaſion thereof, to him ſhall be payd the Chirurgions hyre without any more, out of the common ſhip, without to be bound for his dyet, and if hee retaine any maime, the ſhip or owners ſhall not be lyable therefore, but he ſhall receive his full wages for the voyage wherein the ſame happened.

XII.

That thoſe that hyre themſelves in time of warres for to goe for Herring and will not fight when it ſhall be

needfull, that they ſhall puniſhed be at the diſcretion of the Judge whence the ſhip went forth.

XIII.

The ſteereſman ſhall or ely pay theſe Marriners, ſhipboyes and hyrelings, which they have hyred or ſhall hyre with mony, without to promiſe them any Herring fiſh, Mackerell, basket Herring, Beere, Bread, or any other wares or Merchandizes, howſoever the ſame may be named, but they may grant them onely, but every voyage he ſhall doe one firkin of Herring without any more, which ſhall be delivered unto them out of the ſhips Herrings with the knowledge of the Book-keeper or head owners, without that they may caſt out any Herrings, or deliver any wood which ſhall belong to the owners, upon forfeiture of the ſame wood, and the boyes ſhall have one firkin of Herrings in the whole Fiſhings by them to be received upon ſuch a voyage, as they ſhall require it, but the Marriners and other hyrelings muſt receive the ſame at every voyage on forfeiture thereof, and the ſteereſman or Book-keeper doing the contrary hereunto, ſhall out of their owne goods, forfeit fifty *Carolus* Gilders for every Marriner, hyreling or boy, to whom they ſhall have promiſed more Herring fiſh, or other wares, to be beſtowed the one halfe to the Officer, who ſhall put in execution, and tho'ther halfe to the behooſe of the poore, and the Informers halfe in halfe.

XIV.

All which ſaid firkens of herrings muſt be together nailed up in one day before Sun-ſet, without that they may be opened againe for to packe them or raiſe them upon forfeiture of the ſame Herring, and beſides a penalty of five *Carolus* Gilders, to the behooſe of the Officer, and correction from the Sheriffes, to be forfeited as well by the ſteereſman as by the Mate out of their owne goods.

XV.

XV.

That no ſteerſmen, ſhip boyes, Marriners or others within the ſhip bord, may caſt or pick out any herrings when as they are at ſea, for ſpoyling of the ſhip herrings, but to take them as they riſe halfe barrels and firkens, onely they are to caſt out the ſhotten, *ſicke herrings*, *broken or bruiſed herrings*, but take the beſt ſort as they come to hand, but not to pick or cull them out, upon forfeiture of the Herrings, and ſix Gilders out of their owne goods, as well by the ſteereman as by the Mate; but all halfe buttet barrels and firkens which ſhall be eaten up within a ſhipbord, and not any more, ſhall be filled with fiſh or herring for the ships uſe.

Such as are ready to ſhoot their Nets, which comes by working of the ſhip.

XVI.

Therefore ſo it is, That we having ſo conſidered the ſaid buſines, have found good and approved all and every of the ſaid points and Articles, as being needfull for the furtherance and preſervation of the ſaid Herring voyage and Fiſhing, and therefore by our open Letters of *proclamation*, ſharply commanded and ordained, doe command and ordaine by theſe Preſents, that the ſame ſhall be every where kept and obſerved in its points, upon the penalty therein comprized, & to the end, no body may pretend ignorance thereof, *we doe command* and authorize the firſt Meſſenger of the Court of *Holland*, being hereunto required to proclaime the Contents hereof; and yarely on the firſt of March, every where to renew it within the Cities and places of *Holland* & *Weſtfreizeland*, where it ſhall be needfull.

Donne in the Hage, under the uſuall Seale of the States of *Holland*, hereunder imprinted in manner of a Decree, by the common conſent of the ſaid States of *Holland* & *Weſtfreizeland*, the twelfth of May 1634.

By the order of the States of Holland *and* Weſtfreizeland *ſubſcribed.*

Vander Wolfe.

Proclamation and Order ſerving for the ſecuring of the Herring Voyage of Holland, *and* Weſtfriezland.

The Knights, Gentlemen, and Cities of *Holland*, and *Weſtfriezeland*, repreſenting the States of the ſame Countries, doe make knowne: WHEREAS certaine points of orders have bin ſhewed us by the Deputies for the great Fiſhing of the ſaid countries, conceived by him by order from their principals, for the more ſecurity of the ſhips, which from henceforward ſhall depart out of theſe Countries to ſea, for the foreſaid Trade: and it is required by the ſame Deputy, concerning the great Fiſhing, that we would find good, and agree to the ſame points and eſtabliſh them by a Proclamation, and Ordinance that the ſame may be publiſhed every where, within the ſaid Countries where it ſhall bee needfull, that every one may governe himſelfe thereafter: ſo it is, that we having conſidered the importance and neceſſity of the matter, and eſpecially the oportunity of the time in the conjunction; After right deliberation, conſent and approbation of the ſaid points of Orders, have eſtabliſhed and ordeined by theſe preſents.

1. *Imprimis*, that no Herring ſhips from the beginning of the Fiſhing ſeaſon, untill the firſt of *October*, may run to their trading, nor alſo come home from their trading, without there be the number of twelve, untill the middle of *July*, next comming, and afterwards at leaſt twenty in number, and convoyed by a man of war.

2. Provided that in caſe any ſteereman at their owne charge and perill, would ſayle to, or from their Trade, at their pleaſure without, to tarry for any convoy, that the ſame ſhall be free for them to doe it.

3. And for to keepe a fleet of ſhips together in good order by night, which ſhall be by men of Warre, the lantherne ſhall be born in the Fleets by the ſame Ship of war, and

and in the other Fleetes by the Admirall that shalbe made before the going to saile by the most voyces of the steereman of the mounted ships.

4. And if an Admirall ship bee made by any body by word of mouth, the same must be also observed, as if it were made in writing, and were here also related.

5. The Mariners of the ships taken, shall lose their hire for the Voyage, wherein they shall be taken, comming out of sea, from their trading, but sayling out into the sea, upon their trading, but being taken with dry tackle, they shall forfeit their Herring in the whole Fishing, according to the order thereof made, be spoken, and those that being admonished by the steeresman, will not fight against the enemy or Pirates, they shall forfeit their whole hire, and besides that be corrected arbitrarily.

6. What steereman shall be taken upon their trading, and not having yet fully received their lading, the Marriners continuing their fishing for to get their full lading, shall then enjoy their full hyre.

7. If any body in the said Fleets out of courage, shall sayle upon the enemies ship, and come thereby to suffer dammage, that dammage shall be satisfied him by the Country; and in case the enemies ship come to sinke therby, the dammage shall be doubly recompenced to him, and in case he that shall so doe in sayling, sincke his enemies ship, yet retaine his own ship, he shall have therfore the valew of his ship in goods, which shall be injoyed, the one halfe for the ship and goods, and the other halfe for the ship, steeresman, and other Marriners share and share like.

8. If any of the enemies ships shall be taken by the said Admiralty or Fleet, the same ship with all her appurtenances, shall come to the profit of those that have been assistants and ayde thereunto, and there besides they shall obtaine

obtaine of the Countrie two moneths pay, for so many heads as have ſerved upon the vanquished ship, and they that shall be ſhot or hurt in defence of the ship, shall be cured at the charge of the common ship, upon which hee was hurt.

9. And the Pinnaces and boates which goe in the deep waters for herring, shall not during the firſt fishing ſeaſon, be ſubiect to this Proclamation and Ordenance.

10. All which ſaid points and Articles we doe will & ordaine shall be obſerved and kept by every one, untill there shall be otherwiſe by us therein ordered, reſerving unto us the interpreting, enlarging and altering of the ſaid Orders, according as the opportunitie of the buſineſſe and time shall require, and to the end the ſaid Preſents may be every where obſerved, and no body pretend ignorance thereof. Wee doe Command and Ordaine, that this shall be made knowne and proclaimed every where, where men are wont to make Proclamation, and the ſame shall be needfull, Commanding further all Officers, Juſtices and Meſſengers, that they shall proceed againſt the tranſgreſſors theof as before, without any reſpect, favour, or diſſimulation to the contrary, for wee have found the ſame to be fitting for the ſervice of the Countrie.

Given in the Hage *under our Seale hereunder imprinted in forme of a Pattent, the ninth of Iune* 1622.

By the Order of the States,

ſigned Vander Wolfte.

FINIS.

N

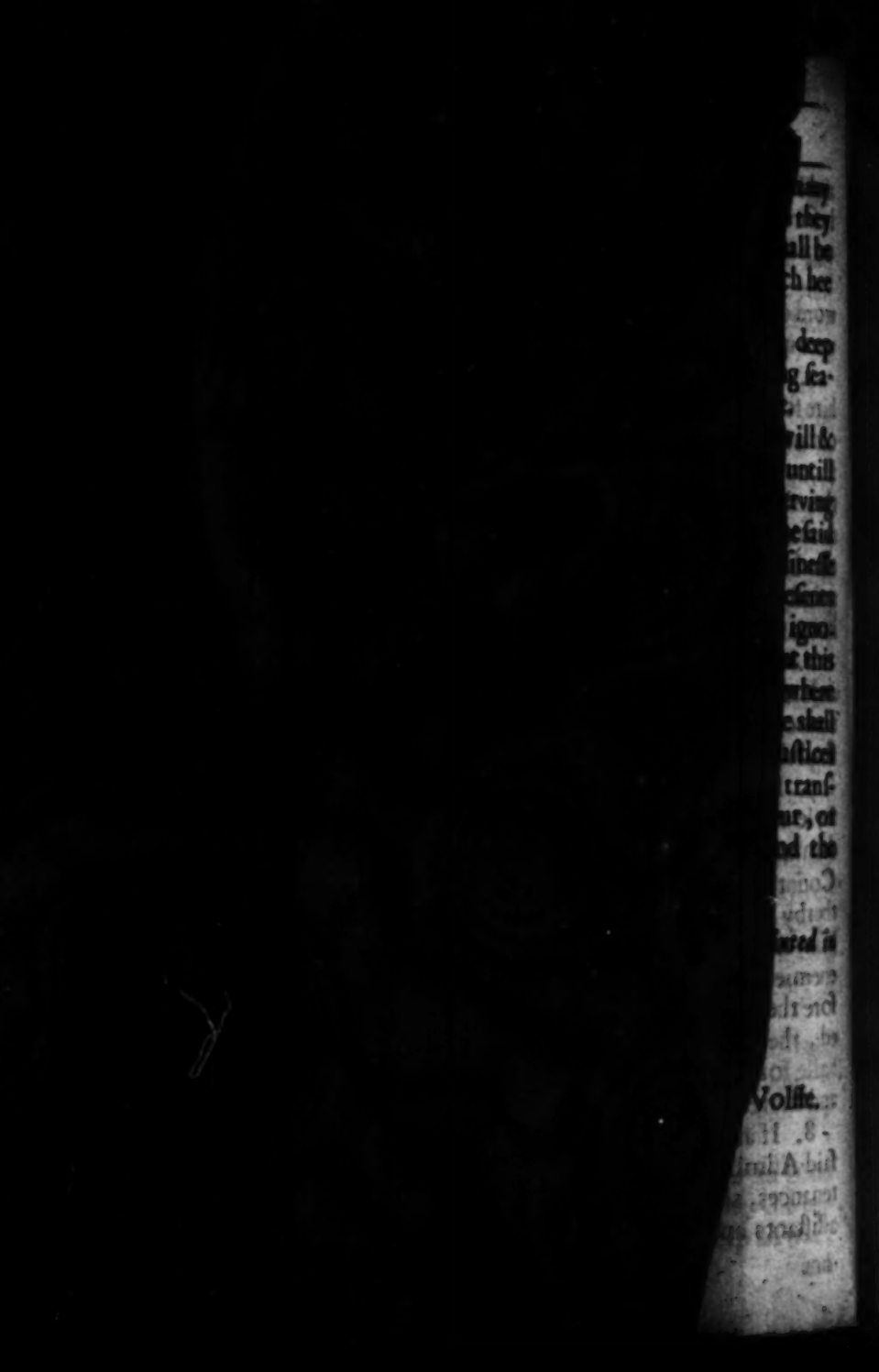
T

G

Inſtic
th

Wh

Print



15

A True NARRATION OF The Royall Fishings OF Great *BRITTAINE* and *IRELAND*.

Instituted *Anno* 1632, and prosecuted by the Right Honourable, PHILIP, Earle of *Pembrook and Montgomery*, and his Associats, untill *Anno* 1640, from the River of THAMES.

Whereunto is added a Discovery of new Trades, for the employing of all the poore people and Vagrants in the Kingdomes.

BY
SIMON SMITH, Agent for the Royall FISHING.

LONDON,
Printed by *E. P.* for *Nicholas Bourne*, at the south Entrance of the Royall EXCHANGE. 1641.

TO

THE KINGS

MOST EXCELLENT

MAIESTY.

The Lords Spirituall, and Temporall, and Commons, in the high Court of PARLIAMENT assembled.

Simon Smith, Agent for the Royal Fishing, of great Brittaine and Ireland,

In all Humbleneſſ. ſhewing,

THat having now by the ſpace of eight yeeres, ſince his Maieſties firſt inſtitution of the Royall Fiſhery, applied himſelfe by all the beſt wayes and meanes, to advance the Artes, Skill and Knowledge of the ſame, for the imployment of people; and encreaſing of the Traffike of the Kingdomes,

to the great benefit of his Majeſty and the adventurers; which being brought to that perfection as formerly hath not bin attained unto; It now wants nothing but execution; which to doe I doubt not but there are many very willing and able; onely that the imployment is not beleeved, to yeeld that anſwerable profit which is expected, and alſo becauſe it hath beene often begunne and given over againe, and theſe late aſſociations have much diſcouraged the wel-wiſhers thereof; Wherefore to vindicate the honour and reputation thereof, I have made bold in al humbleneſſe to ſet forth this narration, and am ready to demonſtrate the action it ſelfe to be very good and profitable, in all its relations, and to be embraced and cheriſhed.

VVhereas

Whereas it is reported that the Herring Fiſhing by Buſſes is unprofitable, alledging that the Lord Marſhall, and the Lord Chamberlaines *aſſociations have loſt their ſtockes, in their Fiſhing Buſineſſe,*

I anſwer and ſay.

THat the cauſe of the conſumption of their ſtocks, was by their improper disburſements, mannaged by unskilful Factors, building of Barkes, inſtead of Buſſes, which were not fit for that performance, and ſending them, and other great ſhips laden with Merchandizes, and many Factors, which waſted & conſumed their ſtocks unto the Ilands, of the *Lewis* and *Sheteland*, applying themſelves in a way of coaping with the Ilanders for their commodities, taking unvendable Fiſh in lieu thereof.

This was not the Fiſhing intended.

And having made great preparations for the Herring Fiſhing in the Lowghes at the *Lewis-Ilands*, bought Land and erected houſes for the curing and packing their Herrings, and ſtoage of their Nets, Caske, ſalt, and other proviſions, it hapned that the Herrings failed to come into thoſe loughes, whereby their great charges and freights and wages were all loſt: and being afterwards made knowne, that the Herrings did not conſtantly make their appearance in thoſe Loughes, but many years failed.

The Lord Marſhals aſſociation, having waſted all their ſtock in that way of employment, quite gave over their Fiſhing, which did diſcourage many of the L. *Chamberlains* aſſociats, whoſe under-writings being in 7 years payments by equall portions, prevented the loſing of their whol Stock; but cauſed them to detain their two laſt payments, yet the L. *Chamberlan*, & ſome of his aſſociats, have proſecuted that buſineſſe of the Herring Fiſhing, with Buſſes in the North ſeas, where the *Netherlanders* doe conſtantly Fiſh, which is to this day continued by the Lord Chamberlaines Agent, to the reliefe of many poore people; but the want of Stock, and interruption by the *Dunkerker*, although it hath hindred the proſperity and growth thereof, yet it hath diſcovered the action it ſelfe to be very good in all reſpects, and to bee embraced and cheriſhed, as for *Directions for the Herring Fiſhing*.

Touching the proportion and charge of a Buſſe, with all the particulars belonging thereto, I referre unto the Booke called *Britiaines Buſſe*, which exactly and truly ſets downe, both the qualities and quantities of all things belonging thereunto.

The manner of the Fiſhing.

The Buſſe of 70 Tuns, which can ſtow but 30 laſtes of Herring Barrels, which is 360 barrels, in regard of the Stoage for the Nets, and other proviſions, and muſt have 55 deep ſea nets, of 4 deepings to each net, and each deeping being 70 Maſſes, at the firſt ſetting out, and muſt have 55 Nets more in readineſſe at returne, leaving the others to be newed and tanned, and fitted for the laſt going out againe, and ſo for Caske, Salt, and all other proviſions to be ready for the quicker diſpatch.

The

The number of men and youthes imployed in this Buſſe is 19. *viz.* 10 Fiſhers, Gippers, Salters and Coopers, 6 common men for labour, and three Countrey youths for Apprentices.

The whole monethly wages to the 18 perſons, beſides the Maſter, will be about 20 *li.* The Maſter is to have in lieu of his wages 12. *d.* for every Merchantable barrell of Herring he takes.

The victualling reckoned for two moneths at firſt ſetting out, which is the time of taking Summer Herring (called Seaſticks) and then expected back unto the *Maggazeene* againe.

The places of the Fiſhing are

Firſt at *Sheteland* in *Cullero* and *Brutio*, *Sowndes*, which is our Kings Dominions, at which coaſte the Herrings doe firſt riſe, and ſhootes forwards to the *Doggerbanke*, which lyeth in the maine Ocean of thoſe Northerne ſeas, and there all nations doe fiſh together, and about *Bartholmew*, they come into the *Yarmouth* Seas.

This can give no offence to the Hollander, being its free in GOD'S *high way (which is the* Ocean) *for all Nations to Fiſh.*

But if it pleaſe our Kings Majeſty in the future, when as our Engliſh and Scottiſh Buſſes ſhall encreaſe, then to ſtrengthen the priviledges of *Sheteland*, *Yarmouth*, and other places from the ſtranger, it may prove advantageous to his ſubjects, as by the right of his Royaltie, hee may juſtly doe.

The Vent of Herrings in forreine parts.

For the Summer Herrings, which are called Seaſticks, (not being capeable of packing, by reaſon of their fatneſſe)

neſſe) are vented at *Danske*, *Elbing*, *Coningsburg*, *Statteene*, and other places, within the *Baltick* Seas, from whence is Maſts, Hempe, Pitch, Tar, Waynskots, Clapbords, Deale, and Caske, uſefull for the Fiſhery, or Gold, Silver, and Corne returned.

Alſo *Hamburg*, *Dunkerke*, *Deepe*, *Nants*, *Rouen*, *St. Valleries*, *St. Mallowes*, *Burdeaux*, and elſewhere.

The ſecond Fiſhing being repact Herrings, the full and ſhotten ſeparated, which may be vented in all the places aforeſaid. The Crux Herrings made with ſalt, upon ſalt, doe find their beſt vent and price, at *Rouen*.

For the latter Fiſhing, if Corved Herrings, the beſt vent of them is at *Yarmouth*, to make red Herrings for *Leghorne*, *Genoua*, and other parts within the *Streights*.

And what repact Herrings then ſhall bee made, are to be vented at *Deepe Rouen*, and thoſe other places before named, the Eaſtland being frozen up, and ſo too late to ſend any thither.

The Herring Fiſhing beginneth the middle of *Iune*, and ceaſeth about the middle of *November*, but from the time of going forth, untill the returne will bee full ſixe moneths.

The ſame Buſſe being ſet forth with hooke and line, for Cod and Lyng may be employed therein, untill the beginning of *March*, and then returning, is to bee graved, cawlked and fitted out againe for the Herring Fiſhing.

The Countrey-men imployed, may after the Herring Fiſhing, returne to their Countrey imployment, or beat and dreſſe Hempe, ſpin, twine, and brade deepings, and the like. The *Gange Buſſe* being open with one deck, is fitteſt for the Herring Fiſhing in regard the nets will bee better preſerved therein, then in a two deck Buſſe, and the charge is much leſſe.

There

There is another ſort, and that is called a Hooker, or Welboat, whoſe bayt is with Lampres, when as the herrings are not to be had for bayt.

That the Action is profitable in a way of Trading, may appeare by this Calculation hereunder named, according to good experiment made thereof.

The charge in ſetting forth of a Herring Buſſe, from the 15. *of* May, *to the* 15. Novem. *being* 6. *months, will be at the highest rates.*

For Caske and Hoopes 1000. Barrels at 2 s. *per* Barrel 100 l. 00s. 00d.
For Salt 1000. buſhels at 2 s. *per* buſhell, —— 100 l. 00s. 00d.
For Victualing and pettie-Tallie, —— 060 l. 00s. 00d.
For the ſix moneths wages to the Company, —— 120 l. 00s. 00d.
For the Maſter his allowance, 12 d. the Barrell —— 050 l. 00s. 00d.
For the repaire of the 55. Nets, at 3 l. *per* Net —— 165 l. 00s. 00d.
For extraordinary charges of Store-houſes and Sallaries, 035 l. 00s. 00d.
For the repaire of the Buſſe, or freight at 10 l. by the mo. 060 l. 00s. 00d.
Some is —— 630 l. 00s. 00d.

The 1000. Barrels of Herrings will produce one with another for the net-Sales, the ſome of —— 1000. 00s. 00d.
So the cleare gaines for the Stocke adventured is, —— 370 l. 00s. 00d.

And if it ſhould ſo happen, that but 500. *Barrels be taken, yet there can be no loſſe.*

For the Salt and Caske not uſed, is —— 100 l. 00s. 00d.
For the Maſters allowance and other charges ſaved, — 030 l. 00s. 00d.
For the Sale of the 500. Barrels of Herring, —— 500 l. 00s. 00d.
—— 630 l. 00s. 00d.

But if proviſion be made in due time with ready money, will further Fiſhings very much, and eaſe the rates of the proviſions, and cauſe the returne and diſpatch of the Buſſe ſooner, for the want of a *Magazine* hath beene the onely cauſe of hindring the proſperity thereof.

If three Buſſes conſort together, and take alongſt with them, a Yagar laden with proviſions, to ſupply them after they have taken ſuch a quantity wherewith the ſaid Yagar may run to the next market, and returning may meet together againe at the *Magazine*, thereby a greater quantity of Herrings may be taken before that the Buſſes make their firſt returne, and the ſame nets being imployed whilſt they are wet, will performe it with leſſe hurt to the nets, then if they ſhould come away aſſoone as they have gotten their lading.

Alſo during their Fiſhings in the *North* Sea, the Buſſes may repaire unto *Holy-Iland* neere *Barwicke*, for drying their Nets, and receiving of freſh proviſions of Salt and Caske, which will be a great accommodation in regard they may in ſeaven houres from thence be at their place of Fiſhings againe.

In few yeares the number of Buſſes increaſing both of Engliſh and Scottiſh, they may be able to maintaine an *Armado* for their defence as the *Holland* Buſſes doe, which are alwayes in readineſſe for the defence of the Kingdomes, if any ſudden attempt ſhould hereafter happen, which the Spaniſh Fleet that came lately into the Downes, found by wofull experience: It hath beene obſerved that at *Shetland* which is the *Randezvous* of the *Hollands* Buſſes in the moneth of *Iune*, yearely hath beene to the number of ſix and twenty hundred Buſſes, being enjoyned not to put their Nets into ſea before the 15. day of *Iune*.

And this yeare 1641. the *Netherlanders* have ſent forth 1900. Buſſe, and 36. ſhips of war to attend them, in which Buſſes and ſhips, are to the number of 40. thouſand perſons, Fiſhers, and Mariners, and the poore people which they ſet on worke, at the ſeverall Townes and places whereto they belong in beating and dreſſing of Hempe, ſpynning of twine, brayding of deepings, making of Nets, Ropes, Caske, and other

ther provisions, building and repairing of the Busses and the like, is not so little, as 40. thousand families at home, besides their forraigne imployment in the way of Merchandizing which ariseth thereby, and is of greater consequence unto the States then the Indies to the King of *Spaine*.

This Fishing imployment is with a smaller Stocke, lesse danger, neerer at hand, and quicker dispatch then any other, it is gained out of the Sea, for 4 s. which is the cost of the Salt and Herring barrel, produceth the 20.s. in Herrings, there being no one Manufacture in this Kingdome that giveth so universall imployment.

And if this businesse of the Herring Fishing were taken into due consideration, and made a nationall worke, the poor people and vagrants, in, and about all Citties, Townes, and other places, may be kept in worke to get their livings by the beating and dressing of hempe, spinning of twine, and brading of deepings, for making of Nets, Lines, Norsels, Ropes, Caske. and other provisions, for the furnishing of a Magazene in each port, where any Busses shall bee built, or set forth according to the manner of the *Hollanders*, who thereby have a flourishing Common-wealth, and doe not suffer an idle person among them.

And if those men that live wholly by their money trade, would imploy their stockes, or some part thereof in this service of the Common-wealth, to set up this Fishing Trade, in any one of the particulars, either by buying Hempe and making deeping to sell, or in building of Busses to sell, or Caske, or providing Salt, or setting up a *Magazine* for the victualing and furnishing with the needfulls, or will buy the Herring from the Fisher-men and vent them, or will set up a Bancke to furnish poor people with small summes of money on their pawnes, at eight pence, whereby the spynners and Brayders, and others, may imploy themselves in any one of the

the ſaid Manufactures; they would find a greater gaine to ariſe unto them, then by their trade of Uſury: and more ſafe and comfortable for them; And to inſtance in one particular, a 100. li. beſtowed in hempe will produce 300. li. weekely, by the Manufactures thereof.

FINIS.

N

IE

The blo

Whe
powe
d

Rela

VV
ag

Sem

16

MORE NEWES FROM IRELAND:

OR,

The bloody practices and proceedings of the Papists in that Kingdome at this present.

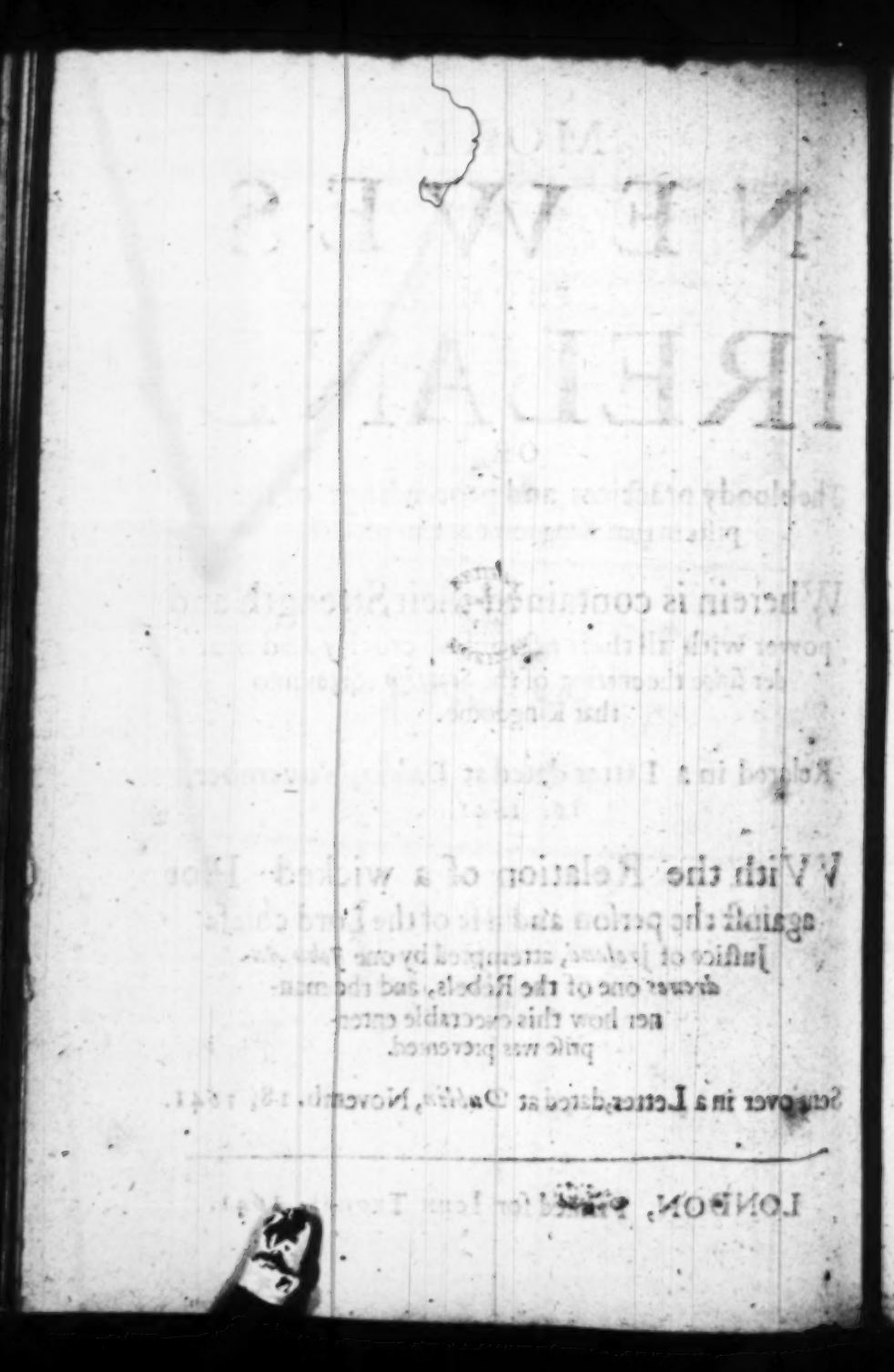
Wherein is contained their Strength and power with all their actions of cruelty and murder since the entring of the *Scottish* forces into that Kingdome.

Related in a Letter dated at *Dublin*, November, 16. 1641.

With the Relation of a wicked Plot against the person and life of the Lord chiefe Justice of *Ireland*, attempted by one *John Andrewes* one of the Rebels, and the manner how this execrable enterprise was prevented.

Sent over in a Letter, dated at *Dublin*, Novemb. 18. 1641.

LONDON, Printed for Iohn Thomas. 1641.



A Letter dated at *Dublin*, *Novemb.* 16. 1641.

THe Rebels came not to *Kildare*, nor *Monstreven*, but to *Portkereſter* they came, but 'tis hoped by the next they are repulſt from thence. It is Rumor'd that Mr. *Moore* is gone to the Rebels with 1500, but as yet uncertaine.

The Lord *Marre* in *Tredath* with 700 foot and a Troope of Horſe or two, ſome of his Children are come to *Dublin*, his Lady and the reſt are expected that night, his goods put ſafe into the Caſtle, where are 200 Souldiers victualled for a yeare, there is 50. peeces of Ordnance mounted to awe the City and Country about it, Sir *Francis Willoughby* is Governor, Sir *John Burlacy* Lord chiefe Juſtice lyes in it.

There is no proceedings againſt *Magayer*, nor the reſt thereabouts.

The Councell ſit in *Corke*-houſe that recourſe may not be ſent to the Caſtle, and Sir *Hen. Tichburne* is chiefe, there is 10 foot Companies marcht towards *Tredath*, on Sunday laſt the Rebels tooke *Dundalke*, 4000 foot and 400 horſe of *Engliſh* and ſome *Scots* of the North, have regained the *Newery* with little loſſe, and 80. of the Rebels are ſlaine, with ſome ſtore of Armes & ammunition which is taken from them, and they encreaſe daily, 1000 foot is to goe within 3 daies

vnder the command of Sir *Charles Coote* towards *Caban*.

Alſo we heare that Sir *Pierce Croſly* hath 1000 vnder his command for the King, & 'tis hoped the Lords of the Pale will hold right, they render in perſon themſelves, and their ſtrength to the Councell.

The Rebels in Connaught and Vlſter increaſe daily in number, but the Lord *Moores* Troope hath lately taken part of the Rebels priſoners, beſides thoſe they ſlew, and Reſcued from them 140 head of Cattell.

Likewiſe wee as yet heare of nothing amiſſe in Munſter or Lempſter.

It is reported for certaine, that Colonell *Plunket* is gone to joyne with the Rebels 2000 horſe and foot, yet we are in hope to diſperſe theſe Rebels aſſoone as they ſend us ſupplyes.

The Viſcount *Gormeſton* is ſent to demand of the Rebels the cauſe of their taking up of Armes.

There are thouſands of *Engliſh* Familyes with other Proteſtants which are ruin'd in their eſtates, and many forced to flye from their Habitations, divers put to the Sword, ſome impriſoned, which puts the Kingdome into great feare, and vnleſſe ſome helpe and ayd be ſent to relieve and reſcue us, we ſhall vtterly be deſtroyed and rooted out of the Kingdome, for they ſurpaſſe us in ſtrength and number, being ten to one, beſides many ſupplyes from divers Papiſts in *England*, *Spaine* and *France*, to the vtter ſubverſion and overthrow of the Proteſtants here, their eſtates, wives, and Children.

An

An Exact Relation of a moſt impious and damnable Plot intended against the perſon and life of the Lord chiefe Juſtice of *Ireland*.

Which enterpriſe was attempted by one *Iohn Andrewes*, a Native of that Kingdome, and one of the Rebellious Rout in *Ireland*, *Novemb.* 18. 1641.

HOw dangerouſly theſe times have bin, what ſtrange and unheard of Stratagems, and commotions have beene ſet on foot, taken progreſſe, nay almoſt attain'd maturity and execution, the moſt weake underſtanding cannot but apprehend, and all who deſire the peace of this our *Iſrael*, acknowledge the goodneſſe of the Almighty who hath ſubverted their moſt execrable endeavours. The Conſpiracies of theſe our times are become the diſcourſe of Children, and Old wives, who untill their dotage were blinded with the vaile of ignorãce, are now well furniſht with plenty and variety of matter, which they have gathered from the ſtore-houſe of theſe troubleſome times; Natives have bin the greateſt oppoſers of our peace, who like the vnparallel'd Tyrant *Nero*, deſire to rip up that wombe, which gave them birth and being, or like the ungratefull Snake whoſe unkind diſpoſition ſhoots the venome of his malicious nature againſt that breaſt, which firſt did give him warmth, and meanes of

preſervation. Their peſtiferous malice will receive no contradiction, but ſince it hath pleaſed God to prevent their purpoſes here, their poyſoned ulcerous mind diſcovers it ſelfe in *Ireland*, thither they have convey'd their cruell policies, & when their publique Conſpiracies are overthrown, they endeavor to ſatisfie their blood-thirſty appetite with private ruine when their power could not reach the generall ſubverſion, their malice flyes at lower game, but their intents are full of poyſon and deſtruction, their Councels now unite themſelves how to weaken the ſinews of the Kingdome by murdering the maine Pillars of the Law, as if by that meanes their licens'd villany ſhould take its progreſſe with impunity. Vpon the 14. day of this *Novemb.* a moſt audacious and villanous attempt was put in practiſe againſt the cheiſe Iuſtice of *Ireland* his life and perſon, by the baſe endeavors of one *John Andrewes* a Native of this our *Engliſh* Nation, but now an adherent vnto the See of Rome, by practice of life a Souldier. For what more fit Inſtrument could theſe blood-hounds chooſe for their bloody purpoſe, but one well ſeaſoned with blood-ſhed, to whom murther was growne familiar, and cutting of throats a daily practiſe. Theſe Villains omit no opportunity to ripen their deſires, ſo this wretch thinkes the morning beſt ſeaſon for his enterpriſe. His Lordſhip having diſpatcht his private devotions unto Almighty God, and now being prepared for the ſervice of the King, and his daily Office, addreſſing himſelfe for the Seate of Iuſtice, and place of judicature, this fire-brand of miſchiefe, and agent for the moſt execrable Society of Rome, with very much importunity deſires acceſſe vnto this worthy and deſerving Father of that oppreſſed Land.

He

He as all good men are free from jealousie and suspition, grants him admission to his presence, who being now admitted presents his Lordship with a Petition wherein he desires Redresse for some unjust oppression with which he seemed to be unlawfully burthened. Thus Villany never wants a specious colour to grace its deformity, nor well fashion'd excuses to mature their most dishonorable atchievements: Thus having wonne convenient accesse unto his Lordships private eare, and as he conceived a secure opportunity for his bloody intention, hee begins to display his thirst of blood, & the venome of his corrupt disposition begins to discover it selfe whilst his Lordship is busie to relieve him from his conceived injuries, he is as active to injure the carefull Redresser of his oppressions, and takes advantage by his Lordships disposition, to put his damnable Villany in execution. From vnder his coate a Dagger or poynard which his desire aymed to be the Instrument of his purpose, and with a stroake made at his Lordships breast, but the most happy, but vnexpected intercession of a servant whom some fortunate businesse caused to attend upon his Lord; prevented the fatall wound, who laying hold upon this caytiffes Arme, disappointed him of his weapon and purpose. The Villaine by his sudden prevention stood amazed, & being as voyd of courage as of honesty, submitted himselfe, and implored his Lordships clemency, who hath committed him vnto safe custody. There is a flying Rumour that he was bought to this attempt by the Priests and Iesuites in *Ireland*, but we dare not trouble the Reader with that Report untill wee shall have it confirmed by a more certaine and sure Testimoniall

moniall, the fallery and wages of his labour was reported to be at the rate of 200 Crownes, but wee hauing no certainty of the newes dare not averre it to the courteous Reader but certaine it is, that the villaine ſtands at this time Committed where hee muſt remaine vntill Juſtice ſhall further determine of him & Cenſure him according to the deſerts, of his bloody and vnjuſt undertakings.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS

B

Th
She
Citi
cell
or
th
t

Af
to t
ous
Ho
laſt
R

P

GREAT BRITAINES time of Triumph.

OR,

The Solid Subiects obſervation,

Shewing in what a magnificent manner, the Citizens of London entertained the Kings moſt excellent majeſtie, and how the honourable Lord Mayor of London, with the warlike Artillery men in their glittering armour, gave his Majeſtie a Martiall-like welcome; alſo how they preſented to his grace a moſt rich and coſtly gift, in token of their loyalty to their Soveraigne.

Afterward how they ſolemnized a ſtately feaſt, to the which came both the Kings majeſtie, his gracious Queene *Mary*, and his Royall Sonne, *Charles* our Honourable Prince of Wales, whom God preſerve: and laſtly how the Drums beat, Trumpets ſound, Muskets Rattle, Cannons Roare, Flags diſplay'd, Bonfires blaſing, Bells Ringing, with all the melody that might poſſible be made for Ioy of the Kings Majeſties ſafe returne to England.

Written in Engliſh proſe by *Lawrence Price*.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Burton* and are to bee ſold at the horſe-ſhooe in Smith-field. 1641.

GREAT BRITAINES time of Triumph,

OR

The Solid Subiects obſervation,

Shewing in what a magnificent manner, the Citizens of London entertained the Kings moſt excellent majeſtie, and how the Honourable Lord Mayor of London, with the warlike Artillery men in their glittering armour, gave his Majeſtie a Martiall-like welcome; alſo how they preſented to his grace a moſt rich and coſtly gift, in token of their loyalty to their Soveraigne.

Afterward how they ſolemnized a ſtately feaſt, to the which came both the Kings majeſtie, his gracious Queene *Mary*, and his Royall Sonne, *Charles* our Honourable Prince of Wales, whom God preſerve: and laſtly how the Drums beat, Trumpets ſound, Muskets Rattle, Cannons Roare, Flags diſplay'd, Bonfires blaſing, Bells Ringing, with all the melody that might poſſible be made for Ioy of the Kings Majeſties ſafe returne to England.

Written in Engliſh proſe by *Lawrence Price*.

LONDON

Printed for *R. Burton* and are to be ſold at the horſe-ſhooe in Smith-field.

Great Britaines time of triumph.

NO Sooner had our gracious King *Charles* his excellence eſtabliſhed an united peace, betweene his loyall countrymen of Scotland, and us his loving Subjects of England, but hee prepared himſelfe, being accompanied with many of the Nobility, to ſee his Princely Court of England, whereas four moneths abſence had cauſed a generall mourning Veſture to be worne throughout the whole Realme of England, every faithfull hearted Engliſhman can witneſſe this my ſaying to be true: Amongſt which numberleſſe number of ſolitary mourners, I beſeech you to take notice of that Pearles Paragon, our gracious and grieved Queene *Mary*.

Who like unto the Turtle Dove, refuſed to be comforted in the time of the abſence of her thrice renowned and Princely companion: her bed the bed of carefulneſſe, her bread the bread of ſorrow, and her drinke often mingled with briniſh teares; but becauſe I have matters of Ioy in hand to ſpeake of, I will here omit theſe ſorrowfull Elegies, and put you in mind of ſuch a Triumphant day of melody, which may raviſh each mans heart with merriment, which heares the report of the fame; firſt to ſpeake of the noble and honoura-

ble assemblies in Parliament from the highest to the meanest: their hearts were all filled with the comfortable tydings of the unparalleld news of their soveraigns approach.

Then secondly, the Honourable L. Mayor of London and his followers with all diligence, prepared themselves in all their warlik abilim:nts, as if Mars himselfe the God of Battel had beene their conducter: whereby what with the sounding of Trumpets, bouncing of Muskets, and Ratling of Drums, the very aire azure seemed to rejoyce, adding Ecchoes to their felicity.

Then in ample manner marched the Citizens, with their companies in order, being placed as followes: first the 12. leaders of the 12. chiefest companies appeared in their gorgeous accoutrements.

Here followeth a list of the Companies, which presented themselves, before the Kings Majestie, on Thursday, being the 25. of November.

Forty of every severall companie mounted on Horseback with each one a Chaine of Gold about his neck; and two men a peece for their attendance, with their standers borne before them most bravely, the Flags and streamers were of sundry colours according to their callings.

The first the worthy company of Mercers, the second Grosers, the third Drapers, the fourth Fish-mongers, the fift Gold-smith, the sixt Skinners, the seventh Marchant Taylors, the eight Haberdathers, the ninth Salters, the tenth Ironmongers, the eleventh Vintners, the twelfth Cloth workers.

These Gentlemen Citizens, with thousands more, which are too tedious to be named, rode triumphantly out of the City of London, to give an humble Salutation

tation to this Princely guest, and his noble followers, where after they had upon bended knees, presented to the Kings most excellent majesty, a rich and costly gift as a Token of their devoted love to his grace, they seemed every one hartily to rejoyce in that his Majesty did so lovingly accept of their gift, and there withall both rich and poore both high and low, old and young, men women and children at once shouted forth as if it were in a solemne passion with these words, the Lord preserve our dread Soveraigne King *Charles*.

After that the Lord Mayor, and the rest of the Aldermen of London attended on by Maisles warlike sonnes, the Artillery men, and also the forenamed twelve companies, of which every master had two men, to attend him in Livery Coats; they invited both the King, Queene and Prince, to such a sumptuous Banquet, that by report, the oldest man now living never knew the like.

This sumptuous Banquet was kept in Guild Hall, where was plenty of all delicates, that befitted such a worthy Company; there was eating without grudging, drinking without surfetting, Ioy without sorrowing, love without dissimulation, mirth without mourning, the poore relieved, the widdowes comforted, the Orphans cherished, and every one contented.

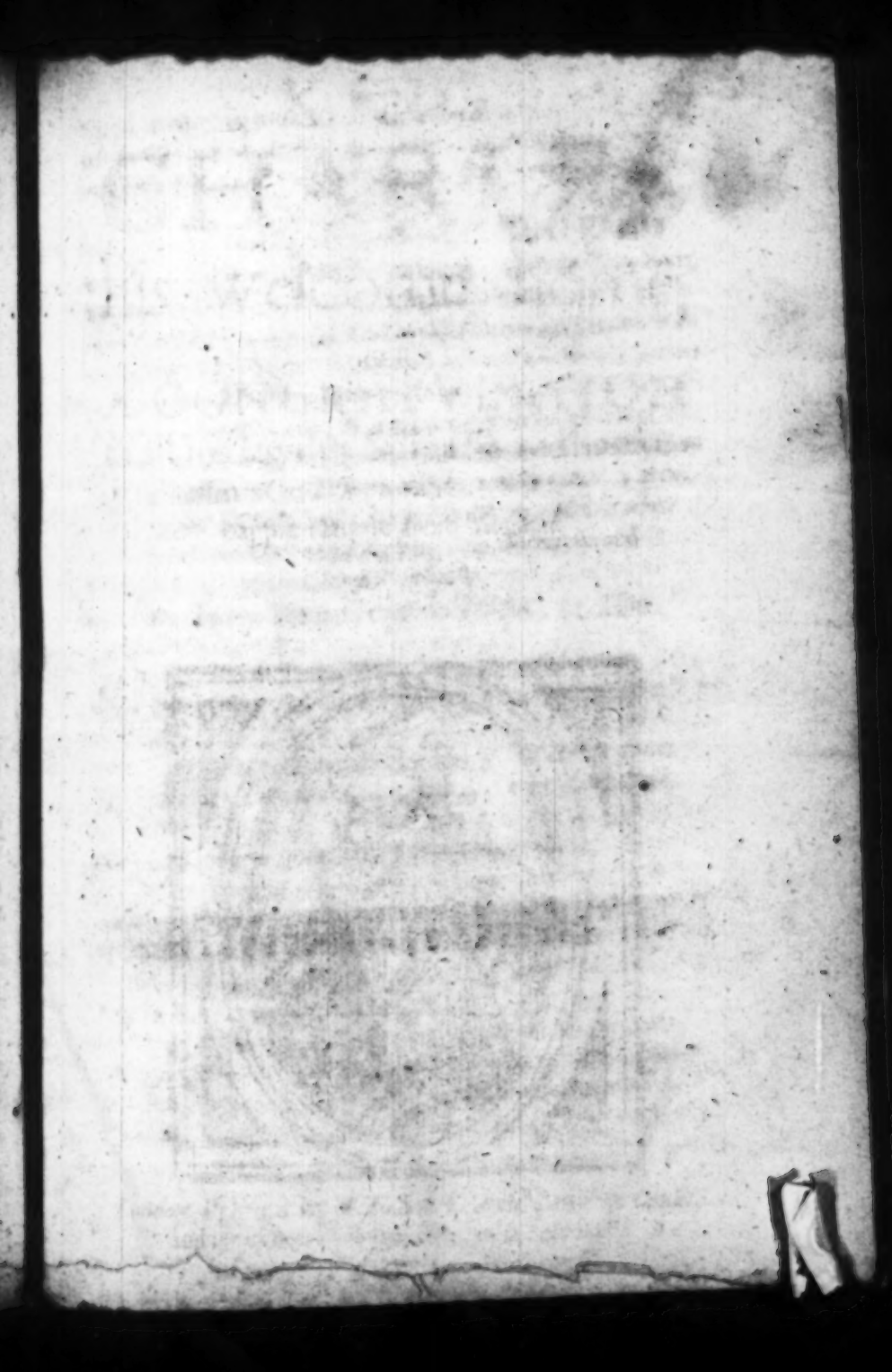
This stately feast being ended, and the night nearely approaching, the K. Quern and Prince were conducted to his majesties palace princely, at white Hall in Westminster; by the honourable Lord Mayor of London, together with the Sheriffes and Aldermen, and multitudes of other Officers and people, with Links, Tapers, and Torches, while the Bells Ring forth their melodies the Silver Trumpet sounded forth piercing Ecchoes,

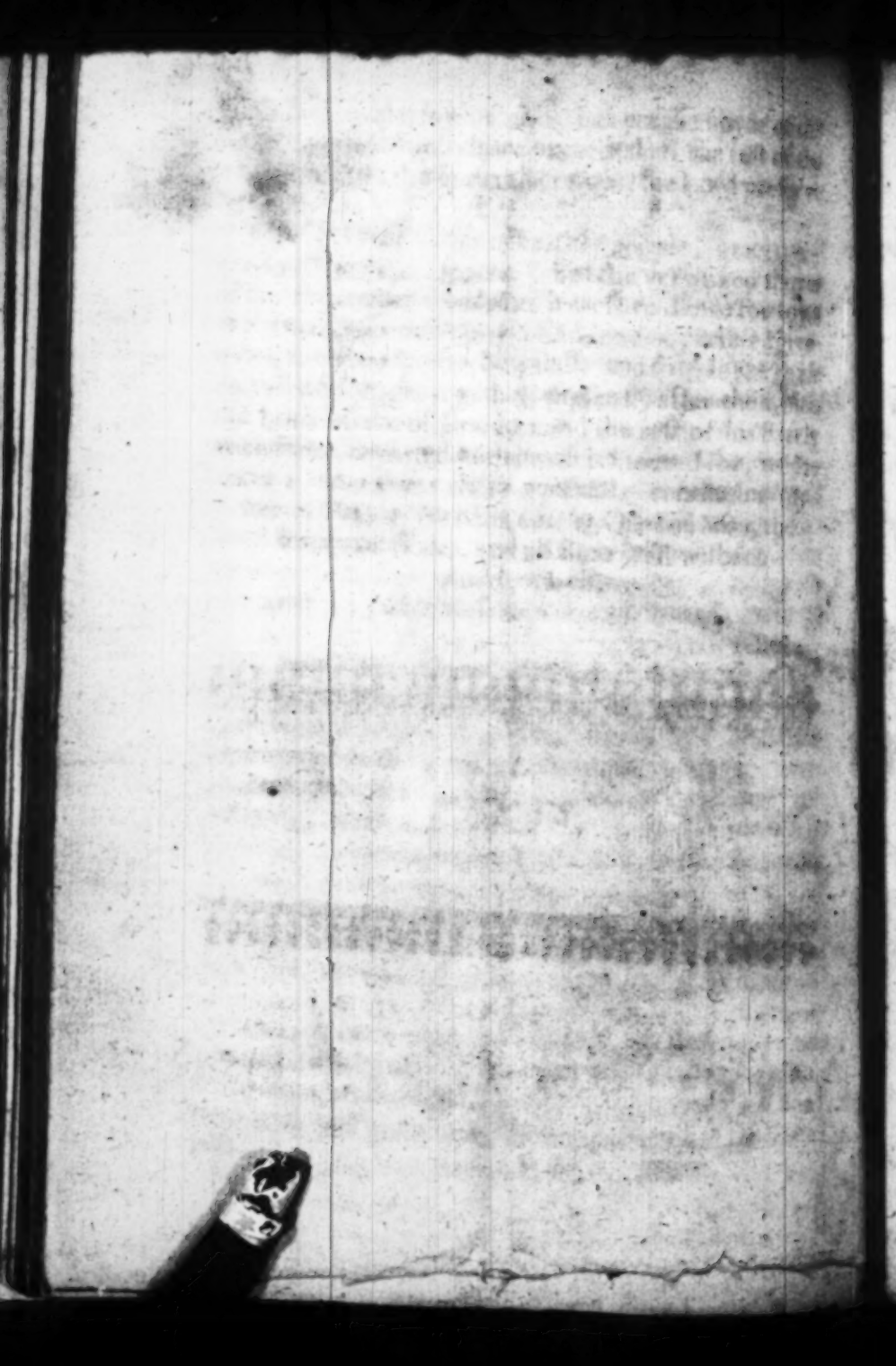
the Bon-fiers blazing on high, but yet the voyce of the Kings loyall Subjects farre exceeded all the reſt of the muſick; for ſtill the generall cry was, the Lord preſerve King *Charles*.

Not onely the voyce of earthly people, graced our gracious King and Queene; but the very fixed ſtarres of the firmament ſeemed as it were to dance for Ioy; as if that *Tytan* and *Cynthia* had made a perfect agreement, to unite a ſecond Nuptiall, and ſo to Ioyne theſe Royall perſonages together, preſently after the which the Lord Mayor of London and the reſt of his ſtately attendance, departed with much honoured Ioy, where now I leave them all in generall, continuing my hearty Prayers for King *Charles*, Queene *Mary*, the Prince of Wales, and all their well wiſhers.

Amen, Amen.

FINIS.





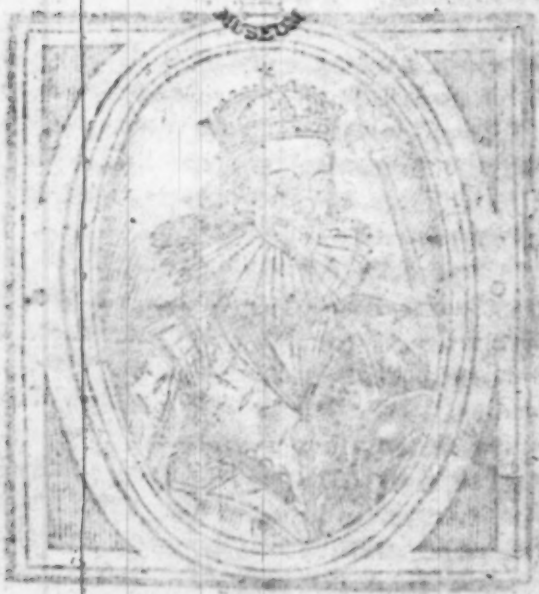
KING CHARLES his welcome home,

OR

A CONGRATVLATION of all his loving Subiects in thankefulneſſe to God for his Maieſties ſafe and happie returne from *Scotland*, 1641.

By IOHN BOND, *Cantabrid: Coll: St. Johns.*

London, Printed by *F. L.* for *T. Bates*, and *F. Coules*, and are to be ſold at their ſhops in the old Baily.



King Charles his welcome home.

HAd I great *Homer's* ſweet-*Maonian* quill
Inſpired from the double-fronted Hill
Of the thrice-three-*Agrippian* Nimphs,
Who guides the fancy with Nectarian Limphs
Of fluent eloquence, and Heroick lines:
Had I the pen of *Maro*, whoſe worth ſhines
bright in the lamp of Poetrie: had I
An Angels ſweetneſſe, and an Eagles ey
To view your Majeſtie: perhaps I might
Reſpectively expreſſe the ioyfull ſight
Of your returne: whoſe imperiall name
Is greater, then the barren Trumpe of Fame
Can farre enough proclaime with her ſhrill voyce;
In whom both men and Angels doe reioyce:
Or were my pen from Pegaſe-hooſe-borne ſpring
Diſtill'd; I might diſcribe thy welcome, King:
But ſtay retract that line, my Muſe, for why?
Shoul'ſt thou preſume upon his Maieſtie
Togaze, leaſt the bright ſplender of his name
Dazels the weakneſſe of thy lines in ſhame.
(But as the *Ceſarian* Partat once did live)
To you great *Charles* my χαῖρε I doe give.
Welcome thou Sun of glory, whoſe bright beames
Doe ſo illuminate thoſe obſcure dreames
Of adverſe Fortune, unto which we were
Late incident, by our quotidian feare.
But the bright raies of your returne abſolv'd
Vs from that paſſion, and ſweetly diſſolv'd
That cloud of feare into the glorious day
Of triumph: for unitly we may ſay,
That Sol's Heav'n-wandring ſteedes in their firſt light
And infancy of riſing, (when the night

Had rob'd the earth of his bright lampe were not
More welcom to th' Pers'ans, who neere forgot
To worship his arising flames, then we
Triumph in your returned Maiestie:
Whose presence we adore, as a new Sun
Which in our Hemispheare most gloriously doe run.
Great *Atlas* of Religion, (whose rare brow
Embroydred with Religions branches, know—
The depth of wisedome) whose Maiesticke smile
Can reere & Religion, and defile
At once both Pope, and Antichrist, the Priests
Of *Baall*, Pontificians, Atheists
And the Hel-nourisht crew of Sectaries beside
Although puff'd up with the arrogant winde of pride
Yet know, great *Charles*, that by thy sacred frowne
They without question must all tumble downe.
Fountaine of peace! From thee doth daily spring
A concord, that doth decorate a King,
And most discreetly doth distill throughout
Three Kingdomes re-united round about.
Thou dost afford each subiect peace, and then
They like to rivers doe returne agen
To the great Ocean of their peace, and thus
Although thou dost diffuse to each of us
This blessing daily: yet we cannot see
The fountaine e're to be exhaust in Thee,
But rather more redundant, witnesse now
Thy care sollic'tous, when discreetly thou
Two Kingdomes did'st concatenate in one
Religious, firme, and sacred peace alone.
When as your ioyfull Subiects did revew
Your presence, how ev'ry one withdrew
Their former passion, and each single eye
Was so transfix't upon your Maiestie:
As if you were the Centur of their hope
Against the stratagems of th' wicked Pope.

For in your abſence, (oh!) how ev'ry heart
Clog'd with great feare for you, did daily ſmart:
Here one did ſigh, another there did weepe
He's heart did ſmart he's eys were drowned deepe
In the full ſtreames of ſorrow: this did pray
Both for your health and ſafety day by day:
Another prayes for your returne: and this
For your long life, that for your heav'nly bliſſe:
This feares, leaſt our Religion ſhould die,
That leaſt we grow unto ſome Anarchie:
Thus you might ſee, great Monarch, that none were,
Idle in prayers, but all ſtrucke with feare
In this your abſence: till your bleſt returne
Did make our hearts in gladneſſe more to burne
Then they in griefe oppreſſed were before
For now each man your preſence doth adore.
Loe! what a concurſe of thy ſubiects doe
Encompaſſe thee, as if they meant to woe
Your ſafe returne: this man's pleaſant voyce
Doth Trumpet forth his ioy: that man reioyce
Rather in heart then words: anothers eye
Loaded with ioy, ſalutes your Maieſtie.
The heads of others doe connive at you
The hands of others doe their triumph ſhow:
Some doe frequent the Temple, and there praiſe
God for your ſafe returne, whoſe mortall Days
They wiſh were crown'd with immortality
That we on earth might to eternity
With the triumph: all people thou maiſt ſee
Thus cloath'd with ioy in their ſolemnitie.
Tis not the plots of th' Antichriſtian Pope
Can e're extenuate at once the hope
Which is impos'd in thee: whoſe ſplendent mind
Can all their owliſh innovations blind.
Nor is it any Faction can oppoſe
Your peace-digeſted mind, or any foes

Disturbe your concord: let the Papists strive
In their Hel-forged plots, and let them drive
Their fury to the height of malice, while
We are protected under your blest smile.
So! let the wicked fume, and fome and fall
Starke-mad: still snarling in their frothy gall
Of tainted envie: Let them like the waves
Precipitate their mallice to their graves,
Well! Let them snarle like murmuring rivers, than
Rising, and rising to an Ocean:
Then swell into a Deluge, till they hide
The tops of Mountaines in their teeming pride;
Thou *Charles* shalt stand like *Noahs* Arke secure
Above those waves, and firmly shalt endure
While the tumultuous Billowes under Thee
Doe rage, and seeke their owne dire Destinie;
With Thee above the waves thou shalt protect
The Sonnes and daughters of th' Religious sect
And sacred Truth, whose ever-pious way
Vnder thy Tutele never shall decay.
Oh! how shall we expresse our flowing joy
For thy returne, which griefe cannot annoy.
Yea ev'n the very City walles would come
And leave their seates, Thee now to welcome home
If nature did not them oppose: behold
The earth whereon thou treadest, doth unfold
Her barrennesse, and in those steps, whereon
Your sacred Maiestie hath lately gon
Least late posteritie should never heare
Of thy blest iourney) it doth now appeare
How the lacivious grasse doe forthwith strive
Which first should be emergent, and so live
Sprung up in honour of your blessed fame,
And be a monument to your great name.
Flora did emulate with her selfe, and trie
How to excell the sweet solemnitie

Of her best odours, whilst all then agreed
To concurre all in one, striving t' exceed
Her wonted repercussive smell: That done
Abstracted all her beauty then in one,
Thus charm'd her flowers whose sweet benignitie
Joyn'd in one faire Aspect doe welcome thee.
Ceres have dressed the corne-loaded earth
Against your comming, to produce a birth
Of heav'n-created joy: and as 'tis seene
Did sweepe the earth's most fruitfull treasure cleane;
Into her swelling barnes: and thus made roome
For your blest Maiesties returning home:
The Earth she emptied, Thee t' entertaine:
Which otherwise she knew, could not containe
Your *Alexandrian* person. Me thinks I see
Wine-swelling *Bacchus* striving how to bee
Ambitiously your servant, who present
His pearlie coul'red grapes, all which he meant
To ripen only for your sake: Thus he
To you commends them with humilitie.
Bright *Phebus* doth his rad'ant beames display
And with his great lustre guild this day:
And thinkes it great ambition to distend
His rayes transluent, which he now did lend
To you more then accustom'd light: while he
Will doe more service to your Maiestie
With his foure steeds: Then he who did farre worse
And gave your Maiestie an hundred horse.
While you and he shine both, none can define
Which is his splendor, *Charles*, or which is thine.
Puffe-mouthed *Æolus* retract his winds
Which do tumultuously rage and findes
That the calme *Zephyrus* of your sweet breath
Doth pacifie their rage, which threatens death
And that your smile can keepe distraction back
That wallow with discention to their rack.

Mars

Mars ſmiles at your returne, and he doth ſee
There his owne perſon in your Majeſtie.
Facetious Mercury's lodg'd in you tounge;
At your bright eyes doth Cupid without wronge
Warme his Cæleſtiall wings: and in your braine
Melliſluous Pallace doth diſcreetly raigne.
Thus all the Gods and Goddeſſes doe ioy
In your returne and call you their Vice-roy.
Loe! Conſtancie doth decorate your face
And true Religion ſacredly doe grace
Your heav'nly mind: And in your better part
Firme faith is crowned in your pious heart.
But why doe I ennumerate (alas!)
Your vertues, which doe farre tranſcend, and paſſe
The intellect of man's capacity:
Which, one may ſooner number in the sky
Each ſtarre; or elſe diſtinguiſh every ſand
Within the Ocean's ſhore, or in the Land
Each herbe; then he which can diſcribe in Thee
Each Character of your Divinity
The Starres of honour in thee doe ſo ſhine
That thou art nothing earthly, but divine.
Which doe ſo meet in thee with variation
That they doe make a perfect conſtellation:
Which were they obvious but to every ey
Each ſeverall Art would turne Aſtronomie:
Our Parliaments adjourn'd: and then we were
(Had you not come) ſubjected beene to feare
But ſince ſuch vertues doe concurre in one
We have a Parliament in Thee alone.
Well! Live O King, for ever live I ſay
Live proſperouſly, and that beyond Doomes Day
And although all other Poets doe reply
A Vale in their Epilogue, yet I
Inſtead of Vale will preſume t' allude
And with a *Salve, Charles*, to you conclude.

FINIS.

Englands Ioyalty,

IN

Ioyfull expreſsions, for the City of *Londons* ſafety, being a true and reall Relation of many moſt remarkable paſſages which have been lately divulged by one D. *Peake* Vicar of *Tenterden* in *Kent*, and Parſon of *Ancridge* in the ſame Countie.

Who did ſpeak dangerous words againſt the Parliament, the Lord Maior and Aldermen of this City of *London*, and now preſented to the conſideration of the Honourable Houſe of COMMONS in PARLIAMENT.

Diſcovered by Maſter *Minis* his late Curate there, and now under Maſter *Matthew Milward*, of Great Saint *Hellens* in *London*.

LONDON,
Printed by *R.H.* for *I.H.* at his houſe in the Old-Bayley. 1641.

FINIS.

THis Doctour *Peake* being ingrafted into my Lords Grace of *Canterburies* favour: he was forthwith advanced to promotion, being made one of his Majesties Chaplaines in Ordinary, a Prebend of *Canterbury*, and two other spirituall Promotions, the one being the Vicarage of *Tenderden*, in the County of *Kent*, and the other the Parsonage of *Antridge*, some seven miles from thence distant, and both these of a very good yearly value, he himselfe very seldome preaching, and then after the *Arminian* garbe, he allowing but a small stipend to his Curate, whose chance then to be, was Master *Minis*, till better promotion should befall him.

About some fourteen weekes since the said Master *Minis*, being at dinner with

Doctour *Peake* and his Wife; Doctour *Peakes* Wives Father, and another Widow-woman, by name Mistris *Gee*, the Wife of the late Minister of *Tenterden*, when after dinner the Doctour falling into discourse with his Wives father, uttered many base and scandalous speeches against the State, concerning the death of the late Earle of *Strafford*, and then fell to discourse of the Parliament, and the trained Bands of the City, his Wife said they were a company of cowardly fellowes, and he replied, that a Company of five hundred good Souldiers out of *Ireland* would quickely vanquish them all, and put them to flight, and said moreover, that it were a good deed to take the Lord Maior, the Sheriffes, and some of the Aldermen, with others of good ranke and quality, and hange them up at their owne doores, the rest would soon be brought to subjection.

O the inveterate, malitious, and cancred rotten heart of this ungodly Doctour! so uncharitable, to wish evill to that honourable

ble City, where he had his firſt well-being, in ſupplying a Lecture in Saint *Bartholomews* Church behinde the *Exchange* in *London*, Doctour *Grant* being the now Miniſter thereof. I beſeech Almighty God to make this hollow-hearted, evill-thoughted Doctour to be brought to deſerved puniſhment.

His Wives father out of baſe diſpoſition and venomous heart, vviſhed vvith great violence and paſſion, that the City of *London* vvere burnt, and ſome of the Parliament taken and hanged: but marke the juſt judgement of God upon this wicked miſcreant, for that afternoon he went to his ovvne houſe ſome ſeven miles from thence and the next day died ſuddenly, the Doctor hearing of theſe traiterous ſpeeches never rebuked him therefore.

Theſe and ſuch like wicked and traiterous ſpeeches were taken notice of by Maſter *Minis*, and by him upon the faith of a Miniſter, are ready by oath to be maintained againſt the ſaid Doctour to the Houſe of

Commons in Parliament, who no doubt will ſpeedily ſend for the ſaid Doctour, and according to his demerits make him an example for all ſuch ill-affected people to Church and State to take warning by.

The ſaid Maſter *Minis* doth alſo teſtifie, that formerly he hath been an inſtrument of the apprehenſion of divers Prieſts and Ieſuites, which the Lords Grace of *Canterbury* did under a colour ſend his Warrant for, and they were the next day releaſed, which Maſter *Minis* taking notice of, he went to *Croydon*, the Archbiſhop then lying there, and told his Grace of the ſame, who anſwered him, they had the Queenes protection, and that he could not ſtay any of them, that were by her protected: this was all he had for his paines and care in ſeeking to diſcover ſuch, onely his dinner there, and a twenty ſhillings peece to ſtop his mouth as the Biſhop then thought. But now thankes be given to the Almighty God, the times are altered, and the honourable Parliament have made good and wholeſome orders, for the

the apprehending of Prieſts and Ieſuits, with promiſes to all ſuch as ſhall be the meanes of diſcovering of them, or any ſuch.

FINIS.

THe aforementioned Relation was exactly taken from Maſter Minos *owne mouth, by the teſtification of many ſufficient witneſſes, and now publiſhed to the common ſpectacle of the world, to demonſtrate unto all the treacherous and Antichriſtian exoptations of the Canterburian Doctour: but I hope the Parliament will take theſe invective aſperſions of ſuch railing* Rabſhakehs *into their grave and judicious conſiderations; and I fear that the ſame curſes which they wiſh againſt this renowned City will light ſhortly on their owne heads; while my daily and continuall prayers ſhall be, that God of his Almighty Omnipotence would preſerve and defend this City and noble Parliament, to the extirpation of all ſuch hereticall Doctours, and the flouriſhing eſtate of this whole Kingdome.*

ARTICLES MINISTRED By His MAJESTIES Commissioners.

For Causes Ecclesiasticall. Presented to the High Court of Parliament against John Gwin, Vicar of Cople in the County of *Bedford.*

Wherein is discovered his lascivious wenching, Drunkennesse, and wanton life, and most vild, and unbeseeming courses, most unfit for his Function.

London Printed for V. V. 1641.

ARTICLES

Miniſtred by his Majeſties *Commiſſioners*, for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall: preſented to the High Court of Parliament, againſt *Iohn Gwin*, Vicar of Cople, in the County of Bedford.

1.

THat the ſaid Iohn Gwin hath bin, and is a common frequenter of Alehouſes, Taverns, and other tipling houſes, and a man given to immoderate, and exceſſive drinking, and hath beene divers times ſo diſtempered, and overcome therewith, that he hath beene ſcarce able to ſtand or goe, but like a drunkard, hath reeled up and downe, and having neckle&ct;ed his ſtody in Divinity; hath ſpent his time in carouſing and drinking Ale, Beere and Tobacco the moſt part of the weeke in tipling houſes, and upon the Lords day hath there ſat untill 10. 11, 12. or a clock at night.

2 That the ſaid *Iohn Gwin* is much given to quarrelling, and brawling, eſpecially at the alehouſe, and in ſuch quarrelling hath hurt his owne brother, *Henry Gwin*, with his weapon.

3. That he hath committed the hanous crime of

Adultery with the wife of *Robert Purfer*, and had the carnall uſe of her body.

And hee hath divers times gloryed and boaſted of ſuch his wickedneſſe, and incontinency with the ſaid *Purfers* wife, and hath reported it to divers perſons, that he hath had the carnall uſe of her body in the ſaid *Purfers Hall*, where her husband himſelfe ſate by the fire ſide in the Kitchin, or to that effect.

4 Vpon the Lords Day in the morning, the ſaid *Iohn Gwin* went from his owne houſe, to the Pariſh of *Wootten*, to one *Fowcks* his houſe: where hee continued in company with the ſaid *Fowcks* his wifes ſiſter, the moſt part of the ſaid day, and did not goe to Church at all that day:

And he then, and there, and at other times alſo, had the carnall uſe of her body, and did commit Adultery with her.

And he hath in a glorying manner boaſted divers times, that he hath layne with her, and that he had given her all the money that he ſold his Corne for, which grew in *Brooks* field, or to that effect.

5. Upon the Fayre day held at *Bedford*, he the ſaid *Iohn Gwin*, being at one Peries houſe, and there eſpying *Mary*, and *Dorathy* the daughters of Iohn *Davy* ſtanding in the ſtreet, did ſend for them, to come to him, and he did drink

with

with them 4. s. or 5. s. in wine, and having so done, he tooke occasion to send away the said Mary and all other company, save onely the said Dorothy and then, and there, not having the feare of God before his eyes, he did commit the hainous crime of Adultery incontinently with her, the said Dorothy *Davis*, in the said Petties house, and immediately after the said Mary came back againe into the roome to him, and then he took occasion to send away the said Dorothie, and all other, save onely the said Mary, and then, & there he did attempt the chastity of the said mary, and pulled up her cloathes, and offered to commit the hainous Crime of Adultery, incontinently with her, and forced her to cry out for helpe.

And he hath divers times boasted in a glorying manner, that he hath laine with the said *Dorathy* the time aforesaid, and that he attempted to have laine with the said *Mary*, and to be naught with her, but that he could not enter her body.

And that the said Mary cryed out and sayd, ah master, what will you doe, will you undoe me: or to that effect.

6. One of good quality came to his house in a morning, (his wife and he being then in bed together) and the said Gentleman being come into his chamber, desiring him to arise, and goe with him a little way, then the said *John Gwin* made answere, that he must stay a little for him, for *I* must have a bout with my wife quoth he, meaning he would first have the use of her body. Then and there in the presence of that person the said *John Gwin* did in a shameles

and

& in an impudent maner get up upon his wife, & had the carnall use of her body in the presence of the said person, who was a gentleman of good quality, and ashamed thereat; and he hath divers times since (in a glorying manner) boastingly reported, that hee then lay with, and had the carnall use of his wives body.

7 He hath so heynously committed the heynous crime of adultery with divers women, that hee got the loathsome Disease of the French Pox, or at least, the running of the reyns, which he hath divers times confessed that he got with lying by a whore at *Bedford*: but he said, that hee would tell his wife, he got it some other way.

8 He hath indeavoured to be a Bawd to his own wife, and hath given way, that a gentleman of his acquaintance should lye with his wife, and have the carnall use of her body. And upon a morning he put on a red coat, & a culler'd hat belonging to a gentleman, and went with the same upon him a good distance from his own house; and at one John Braces in *Cople* aforesaid, cocked his hat, and asked the said Brace how he liked him in that habit: and hee said to him that he had left the gentleman (whose cloaths he had then on) at home in bed with his wife, and that his wife was giving him a posset (meaning thereby that she was committing the act of Adultery with him.)

9 That the said *John Gyles*, together with one *John Parsons* being the house of one *Brace* in *Cople* aforesaid sitting by the fire side, and having their drinke about them, did sing lascivious prophane, and drunken catches; and after in a profaine manner did sing the Lateny or part thereof with a loud voyce: beginning, O God

God the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us miserable sinners. &c.

And so went on his companion *Patman*, answering every versicle, as the Clarke useth to doe in the church: after that, he sung other prophane, & idle oaths, to the scandal of the profession of his calling, and the evill example of others.

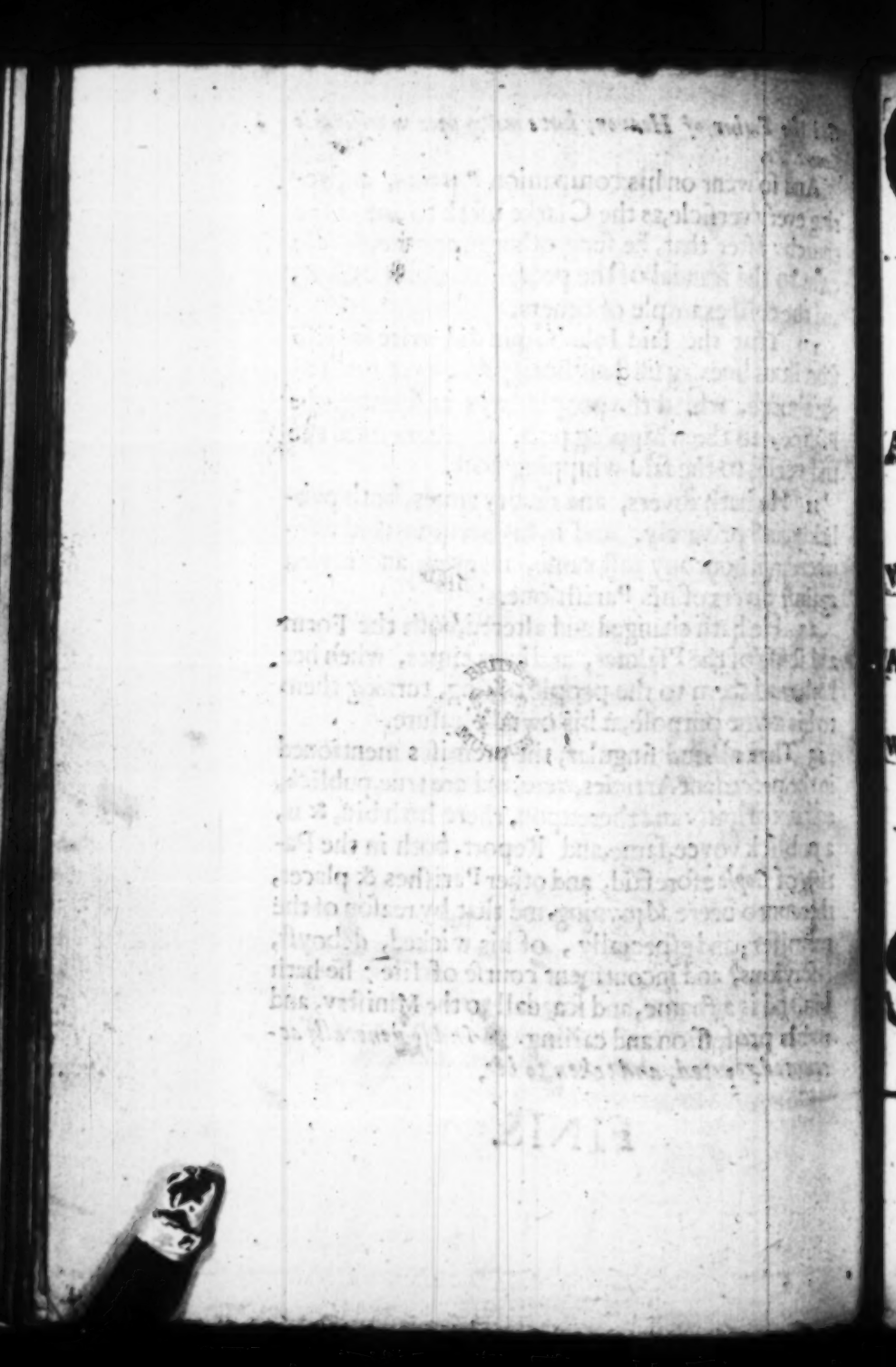
10 That the said Iohn Gwin did write foolish scorrilous lines against authority, and went forth of the church, whilst the people was in singing of a Psalme, to the whipping post, and there fixed the said verses to the said whipping post.

11 He hath divers, and sundry times, both publickly, and privately, and in his Sermons, and elsewhere, without any just cause, inveyed, and rayled against divers of his Parishioners.

12 He hath changed and altered, both the Form and sense of the Psalmes, at divers times, when hee hath read them to the people to sing, turning them to his owne purpose, at his owne pleasure.

13 That all, and singular, the premises mentioned in the precedent Articles, were, and are true, publick, and notorious: and thereupon, there hath bin, & is, a publick voyce, fame, and Report, both in the Parish of *Cople* aforesaid, and other Parishes & places, thereunto neere adjoyning, and that by reason of the premises; and especially, of his wicked, deboyst, lascivious, and incontinent course of life; he hath bin, and is a shame, and scandall to the Ministry, and to his profession and calling. *And so generally accounted, reputed, and taken to bee.*

FINIS.



ORDERS

From the High Court of

PARLIAMENT.

FOR

The ſetling of theſe Kingdomes in peace.

As alſo, a Relation of 4000 REDSHANKS that are ſent over into *Ireland* with Generall *Leſley*.

With the Orders that are taken for their ſuccour, And the names of the Commanders, for that purpoſe.

And the Anſwers, or Demurres, which the Biſhops have put into their Bill of Impeachment.

With a *Relation* of a golden *Cope*, *Crucifixies*, and popiſh Bookes, taken, and brought to the Houſe, Novemb. the 20. 1641.

Whereunto is annexed,

A WORTHIE

SPEECH

That was ſpoken by Mr. *KERTON*.

London Printed for V. V. 1641.

ORDERS

From the High Court of

PARLIAMENT

FOR

The setting of these Kingdomes in peace

As also, a Relation of 4000 REDSHANKS

that are sent over into Ireland with General Lesley.

With the Orders that are taken for their succour, and the names of the Commanders for that purpose.

Not the Answers, or Demurres, which the Bishops have put into their Bill of Impeachment.

With a Relation of a golden Cap, Cavalieri, and popish Books taken, and brought to the House, Novemb. the 20. 1641.

Whereunto is annexed,

A WORTHIE

SPEECH

That was spoken by Mr. KERTON.

London Printed for V. V. 1641.

ORDERS

By the High Court of Parliament.

THAT there ſhall account be taken of all the chiefe Papiſts in London, and that there ſhall be two Lords appointed to raiſe Forces to ſecure the Kingdome, beyond and on this ſide *Trent*, and the Officers appointed by the parliament.

2. That the members of the houſe of *Commons*, ſhould give up the names of them they knew, in their ſeverall Countries unto a ſelect committee, which met about it, to report the ſame to the houſe.

3. That Sir *Henry Beddingfield* of *Norff*, be ſent for, declaring great troubles threatned &c.

4. The Houſe appointed a Committee to view all bills; for, and againſt Biſhops. To enquire by what meanes they have beene procured and what hands are ſet to them.

THe house of *Commons* having read the Bishops Answer or demurre to their bill of charge. And upon debate it was conceived to be insufficieut. Afterwards falling upon their answer agaie; there was a great debate upon it, not onely in respect of their demurre, but also touching their calling, end votes of *Episcopacy*.

They falling upon it againe after some deoate it wes referre to a select committe.

And oue Captane *Beale* being brought before the house, upon a complaint made against him, for the undue procuring of petitions on the Bishops behalfe he used very perentory speeches to the committees appointed to examine him. *Iuhw* afterwards was committed to th cloicustody of a Sergiant at Armes.

There was a Report made to the house, that thel parliament in *Scotland* had ordered, that General *Lesley* should goe over with 4000. *Redshanks* to secure *Dublin*, untill such time as the English forces should be made ready. Afterwards a Committee oe both houses met in the painted Chamber, about the aforesaid Irish affaires: and they then ordered thae 12 antient Commanders should be joyned to the Committee to assist them, touching the landing of forces in the most eminent and needfull places in *Ireland*, and other things pertinent to that service.

The Commanders *Names, appointed for this Service.*

The Lord Wilmot.	*Sir* Simon Harcocke.
The Lord Conway.	Sergeant Major Berry.
Sir Jacob Ashley.	*Coronell* Mandro.
Sir John Conyers.	*Captain* Atkins.
	Sergeant Major *Howell*.

In

In the house of *Peers* there were three Commissions drawne up,

One for the Lord of *Lieceſter*, for his Generalſhip of *Ireland*. And another for the Earle of *Eſſex*, and Lord Generall beyond Trent, to enable him likewiſe to doe the ſame. And a Conference being deſired upon it; they were read and approved of.

Afterwards Letters being read in the houſe of *Peers* (which came from *Ireland*,) and report being carried to the houſe of *Commons* to this effect. Intimating a preſent neceſſity of ayde, as well of proviſion as men. And after a long debate, and conference with the houſe of Commons, there was an order drawne up and directed to the Earle of *Northumberland*, Lord *Admirall*, for to make ready 4. Ships, and to victuall them for 8. moneths, which are to tranſport ammunition thither, and to lye upon the Coaſts of *Ireland*.

In the letters from *Ireland* there was a report made whereby information was given againſt one Sir *Henry Beddingfield* for ſaying viz.

The Report.

That the ſaid Sir *Henry Beddingfield* ſhould ſay that before the next *Chriſtmas* there would come the greateſt troubles upon *England* and *Ireland*, that hath hapened this hundred yeares.

There was a houſe ſearched by the Gate-houſe on this day, upon notice given where Prieſts that are priſoners there daiely reſorted, and met privately, which being ſearched there was found a Cope, and many Romiſh reliques & Popiſh bookes, which were taken away and brought to the Houſe.

Mr. Speaker,

IF ever now is the time to speake, we see what men are risen to: this businesse we have in hand is of dangerous consequence, if it be not throughly looked into, I thinke no man that sits here, but is sensible in what danger now it stands: If this honourable house doe not find some present remedy for it. It is apparent to every man, what new opinions are brought in to disturbe the peace our church was formerly in, the meaning of it can be no other, but to bring in the Romish Religion amongst us; for it ever hath bin Jesuitish policy, first to worke a disturbance, then after a change; we must seeke a cause: I shall freely speak my mind, which is, that this proceedeth from the ambition of some of the Clergie that are nigh his Majesty; for it is well known, that that which the church of Rome antiently professed, and that we now doe professe, were all one, and the ambition of the *Clergie*, begot and brought in those differences that are now betwixt us.

The highest dignity they can attaine unto here in *England*, is an Arch-bishoprick: for a *Cardinals* cap is not here to be had. I beleeve some of these affect that too well, and in some we see how they affect, how they change their opinions for advantage, and how they will turne white into black, and black into white. This being so, our indeavour must be to take away the *spote*, and then the branches will decay themselves: it is not the calling in the appeale to *Cesar* that will do it, for if they can get a Bishopriek by, &c.

It behoveth us all, every man, according to our best ability, to apply himselfe, for the search of these things, that we may find out the matter, and the men, and so present them, and the danger this Kingdome now standeth in by them, to his Majesty: And for mine owne part, I (as God shall enable me) will doe my best endeavour herein.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A DISCOVRSE OPENING THE NATVRE OF THAT EPISCOPACIE, WHICH IS EXERCISED IN *ENGLAND*.

Wherein,

With all Humility, are represented some Considerations tending to the much-desired Peace, and long expected Reformation, of This our Mother Church.

By the Right Honourable ROBERT LORD BROOKE.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. C.* for *Samuel Cartwright*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Hand and Bible in *Ducke-Lane*. 1641.

TO THE MOST NOBLE LORDS, WITH THE HONORABLE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND BURGESSES, Now assembled in PARLIAMENT.

IN Epistles Dedicatory, sometimes men render an account to the world, by what Principles they were Led to such a worke Sometimes they maintaine and strengthen, what they have done, by New Arguments. Some-

times *ad captandam Benevolentiam*, they preſent their whole Deſigne, in a briefe Epitomy, that ſo they may invite the Reader. But I ſhall doe None of Theſe.

The firſt I *need not*: For if the Ten Kings muſt hate the *Whore*, Eate her fleſh, and Burne her with her fire; Will not every good Chriſtian offer himſelfe a ready Servant to This Worke, a Willing Souldier under this Standard?

The Second, I *cannot*; without queſtioning my owne Diligence, or (which is worſe) my Readers Gentleneſſe: Either of which every Writer carefully ſhunneth.

The third I *will not*, leſt I be injurious to my ſelfe: For, Humane Nature is ever *Novorum avida*; and the Soule of vaſt comprehenſion; the Booke therefore would ſeeme but *Crambe bis cocta*, to All that read the Epiſtle; and but create a *nauſea* to Thoſe that had already gathered all, by viewing the Breviate.

If it be the Glory of a King's Daughter to be clothed in *Needle-worke*; ſurely This poore

poore Birth will need more then *Fig-leaves*, to make it Beautifull. When it is Cloathed with its Beſt Robes, It will not be worthy to appeare in ſo Great a Preſence. How much leſſe then, when preſented only in a bare and naked *Sceleton*?

The Worke then of Theſe Lines, is to lay proſtrate at Your Feet (moſt Noble Lords, and Gentlemen) the *Retirements* of Your Humble Servant in the Laſt *Receſſe*.

If You ſhall aske mee, how I dare take the boldneſſe to interrupt Your more ſerious Thoughts, with Theſe Things of Little Worth: All I ſhall plead for my ſelfe is but This, the bow muſt be ſometimes unbent; and if then This Pamphlet may be called for, it is all I aſpire to. For, Your Protection, and Your Patronage, not Your Trouble, is My Requeſt: Of which being no whit Doubtfull; with all Humility commen-

ding This to Your Noble Favour; Your selves and Counsels to the Almighty; I crave leave for ever to remaine

Your most obliged and

devoted Servant

ROBERT BROOKE.

THE

The CONTENTS of the Sections, and Chapters, in the following Diſcourſe.

SECT. I. CHAP. I.

THe *Subject Stated*: *Not a Biſhops* Name, *but* Office *Oppoſed*: *nor* Office *in* generall, *but Such*. *Such a Biſhop repugnant to* State-Policie; Antiquity; Scripture. *The Method propounded for the firſt Section, containing Arguments drawne from* State-Policie. fol. 1.

Chap. II. *Of Our Biſhops* Birth; *how unſuitable to his* Office: *how Hurtfull to Himſelfe and Others*: *How incongruous to* State-Policie. 3

III. *A Biſhops* Breeding *not fit for his* Calling: *againſt Rules of Policie. Some Objections anſwered.* 5

IV. *Of Our Biſhops* Election; *whether ſuitable to* State-Policie. *Of his* Office: Principles, *or* Maximes, *by which hee governeth*: *and* Practice *according to Thoſe* Principles. 11

V. *Of the Nature of* Indifference; *what it is*: *and in what it hath place*: *whether* in Re, *or onely in* Appearance *to our* Underſtandings. 19

VI. *Where the* Power *of* Indifferent *Things ſeemes to be fixed*: *whether in the* Church, *or not*: *or if in the Church, How farre. Of the Churches Deciding Commanding Power. Of* Doubts, *and how we muſt deport our ſelves under* Doubts. 30

VII. *Of the* Conſequents *to a Biſhops Office. His Relations Upward and Dependances. Of his* Vote *in* Parliament. *Relations Downward*: *How repugnant to* State Policie. 35

VIII. *What* Good *our Biſhops can do to the* State, *is examined. whether they have beene, or can be, friends to* Monarchy, *or* Civill *Government.* 42

IX. *How ſuitable ſuch* Epiſcopacie *can be to* Monarchy, *is further conſidered. Whether the Beſt forme of Church Government be* Monarchicall. *Whether other Formes may not well ſtand with* Civill Monarchy. *How* Church *and* State *Government differ and agree.* 48

X. *Who*

X. *Who it is that oppoſeth, and exalteth himſelfe above all that is called* God. *Who is properly a* Papiſt: *and what is* Popery: *Why the* Pope *is moſt properly* Antichriſt: *How ſuch* Epiſcopacy *differs, or agrees with* Popery. 53

Section II.

Conſidereth how Conſonant ſuch *Epiſcopacy* is either to ſound *Antiquity* or *Scripture*.

Chap. I. *Some Antiquities produced by a late moſt Learned and Reverend Patron of* Epiſcopacie, *are diſcuſſed.* 65

II. *Our Biſhops* Election, Delegation, &c. *Examined by* Antiquity. 69

III. *Of* Ordination, *whether proper onely to* Biſhops: *or equally committed to all* Presbyters: *diſcuſſed by Ancient Authorities.* 72

IV. *Of the* Name *and* Office *of a* Biſhop *in* Scripture. *How little, or how much the Scripture makes* for, *or* againſt *Biſhops, Diverſe Texts are diſcuſſed.* 75

V. *What forme of Church Government ſeemes moſt conſonant to* Scripture. *Whether* Monarchicall, Ariſtocraticall, *or* Democraticall. 81

VI. *Of the conſequents that may poſſibly follow the change of Church Government. Of the great danger of Schiſmes, Sects and Hereſies. Of* One new Sect *to come in the Laſt Dayes. Whether Biſhops, can keepe the Church from Schiſmes, Sects, &c. What is, or who are the* Cauſe *of moſt* Schiſmes *among us.* 86

VII. *The danger of* Schiſmes *and* Sects *more fully diſcuſſed: the Nature and Danger of* Anabaptiſme, Separatiſme, *and* Unlicenſed Preaching. *The concluſion with an affectionate deſire of peace and union.* 98

ERRATA.

PAge 4. line 24. *Affection*, for *Affectation* p. 19. l. 2. *Indifferent*, for *indifference*. p. 26. l. 35. *at one any time*, for *at any one time*. p. 51. l. 20. *Joy* for *Ivy*. p. 56. l. 11. *may be the more*, for *may be more*. p. 88. l. 2. *of all Civill, &c.* for *of all. Civill, &c.* p. 94. l. 32. *Orders*, for *Orders from Rome*. p. 98. l. 7. *dele now*.

A

DISCOVRSE OPE-NING THE NATVRE OF THAT *EPISCOPACY* WHICH IS EXERCISED IN *ENGLAND:*

Wherein, with all humility, are repreſented ſome Conſiderations tending to the much-deſired Peace, and long expected Reformation, of this our Mother Church.

CHAP. I.

I Ayme not at *Words*, but *Things*; not loving to fight with *Shadowes*. It is not the *Looke*, much leſſe the *Name* of a Biſhop that I feare, or quarrell with; it is his *Nature*, his *Office*, that diſpleaſeth me.

Nor yet his Nature, or Office in Generall; but *Such*, and ſo cloathed, or rather veyled, with ſuch and ſuch adjuncts.

1. For to me the Word *Biſhop* ſignifies, either one that is to Preach, Adminiſter the Sacraments, Exhort, Reprove, Convince, Excommunicate, &c. not only in ſome one diſtinct Congregation, his owne *Pariſh*; but in many, ſeverall Congregations crowded up together in one ſtrange (and, for long, unknowne) word, a *Dioceſſe*.

2. Or one who hath to all this added, not onely the name of a Civill Lord, (with which bare name, or ſhadow, I fight not) but alſo a vaſt, unweldy (I had almoſt ſayd unlimited) Power in *Civill Government*; which muſt needes draw on a mighty Traine, and cloath it ſelfe with glorious Robes of long extended and magnifique ſtiles, ſcarce to be marſhal'd by a better Herald than *Elihu*, who could give no Titles.

3. Or in the laſt place, (which ſhould be firſt) a true faithfull *Overſeer*, that, over one ſingle Congregation, hath a joynt care with the Elders, Deacons, and reſt of the Aſſembly, who are all fellow helpers, yea ſervants each to others faith.

This *laſt* is a *Biſhop*, of the *firſt* Inſtitution; of Chriſts allowance, ſetled in divers Churches, even in the Apoſtles times.

The *firſt* is of the *ſecond Century*, when Doctrine, Diſcipline, all Religion, began to waine. For even then *Myſterious Antichriſt* was not onely *conceived*, but beganne to *quicken*.

The *ſecond* roſe *laſt*, (though *firſt* intended by the Churches Enemy.) Riſing up while the world was buſie, looking all one way; as amaz'd at the new Beaſt, ſucceſſour to the Dragon.

This is now our *Adverſary*; One monſtrouſly compounded, of different, yea oppoſite Offices; and thoſe the greateſt, both *Eccleſiaſticke* and *Civill*: for which he ſeemes no way able, no way fit; and that for many reaſons, which may be brought from *Scripture*, *Church-Antiquity*, *State-Policy*.

I shall begin with the last, (as that I now ayme at most.) Here let us view our Bishop a while as a private man, *before his Office*. Next as a Lord over Church and State, *in his Office*. Then, with some necessary *Consequents to his Office*; as now it is exercised in this Kingdome. Thus shall we quickly judge how suitable to true *Policy of State*, are either the *Antecedents, Concomitants*, or *Consequents*, of this too officious, two-headed *Bishop*.

Antecedents to his Office, are his *Birth, Education, Election, Ordination, &c.*

Concomitants, (or rather *Ingredients*) we may call, that almost illimited power, both *Intensive*, in sole Ordination; Jurisdiction (*Directive*; by Injunctions, Canons, &c. *Corrective*, by Excommunication, Suspension, Deprivation, &c.) As also *Extensive*, over so vast a *Diocesse*.

Hither also wee may referre his power *Juridicall* or Legislative, in Parliament; Judiciall in many Great, yea Civill Tribunals. And (of all monsters most ugly) his power *Delegative*: then which this sunne hath seene nothing more monstrous, at least as of late it hath beene exercis'd.

By *Consequents* I meane his *Relations*, (acquired by his office) both *Upward*, to his Soveraigne, Creator, Benefactors; as *Downward*, to his owne family, Creatures, and hang-by Dependants.

CHAP. II.

LEt us begin with *Antecedents*; in them the first. Which we shall finde very unsutable, to his after acquired office. For the most part he is *Ex fece plebis*; *humi-serpens*; of the lowest of the people (an old complaint.) Now for such a low borne man, to be exalted high, so high, and that not *gradatim*, but *per saltum* too, as oft it is (in one of few, or no Schoole Degrees, which yet indeede at best

are ſcarce degrees to the Civill honour of a Peere;) muſt needes make as great a *Chaſme* in *Politickes*, as ſuch *leapes* uſe to doe in *Naturalls*.

A great Evill muſt it be, and that both *in himſelfe*, and *to himſelfe* from *others*.

In *others* eye, his honour will be the object, not ſo much perhaps of envy, as ſcorne: while every man of loweſt worth, will ſtill value himſelfe at as high a rate, and ſtill conceive he wanted not the *vertuous deſert*, but *fortunate reward*, a Biſhop had. Now every Action will from hence diſpleaſe, ſith unexpected, ſudden happineſſe, is oft times *fault enough*.

Now That fitting deportment, which may but expreſſe the juſt dignity of his place, & anſwere the majeſty of his high calling, ſhall be eſteem'd but pride, inſolence, and at beſt but affection. And from ſome ſuch diſpleaſing action, or geſture, (though but ſurmis'd on ſome groundleſſe fancy,) oft his very perſon comes to be diſtaſted: and then adieu all effectuall good, which his words or actions, elſe, might ſoone effect.

Sure the chiefe Dominion of Goſpell Miniſters ſhould be in That, the Lord and maſter of the Goſpell ſo much requires; *My ſonne, give me thy heart*. If a Miniſter once come to loſe the heart, and affections of his people, he may indeede ſtudy ſome way to force their bodies; but ſhall ſcarce ever winne a ſoule, or ſave a ſinner. *Homo duci vult, cogi non poteſt*: if you can faſten any *force* on his whole perſon, it muſt be that of *Love*. For ſure the Goſpell conſtraint, is onely that of *Love. The love of Chriſt conſtraineth*. This, and this onely is an irreſiſtible Attractive, an uncontroulable conſtraint. Thus is the Miniſter, the *Biſhop* hurt, in regard of Others.

In regard of *Himſelfe*: ſudden great changes are dangerous in Nature: the skilfull Graſier, the expert Gardiner, will not tranſlate from barren to an over-fruitfull ſoile; for this ſuffocates the Spirits, and deſtroyes the Plant. The ſudden unexpected newes of a ſonnes life, (which

(which was reported dead) was the death of the Parent, as we read in Roman Hiſtories.

High places cauſe a ſwimming in the braine: your Faulkners ſeele a Pigeons eye, (when they would have her ſoare high) to prevent a *vertigo*. I conceive from this Reaſon, and mainely from this, it was the good pleaſure of the Spirit, that under the Law, when the Church had an influence into ſtate affaires, the High Prieſt ſhould be choſen out of one eminent family, of the ſtocke of *Levie*: and ſome of the Kings of *Iſrael* are reproved by God, for that they choſe their Prieſts out of the meaneſt of the people. He that is to goe in and out before the people, and is their guide, muſt be without blemiſh.

Thoſe Horſes which are deſigned to a lofty Ayre, and generous manage, muſt be of a Noble race. *Non bene conveniunt, nec in una ſede morantur, Majeſtas & Origo plebeia.* The Vapours which by the ſunne are raiſed to a great height, even to the ſecond Region, being of ſo meane a Progeny, are but the matter of hayle, ſnow, raine, ſtorme, and tempeſt, which by Hiſtorians are obſerv'd to bee the frequent Prognoſtickes, or at leaſt companions of Wars, and confuſions.

CHAP. III.

BUt ſome will ſay, this defect (in *Birth*) may bee repaired in *Breeding*: elſe we ſhut the doores of hope, (and by Conſequence of *Induſtry*) to *Cicero*, *Marius*, and ſuch other Worthies; who though but of a low Pedegree, may advance themſelves even to the Helme, and there approve themſelves men admirable, in the way of Government.

'Tis true, *Art* oft-times helpeth *Nature*: ſome men of ſmal beginnings, by their vertues have deſerved for a Motto, and impreſo, the Poets words,—*Es qua non fecimus ipſi, Vix*

Vixea noſtra voco ——

But when was this ſeene in a Biſhop?

Let us therefore, in the next place, examine their *Breeding*; and ſee whither in probability, that be not as diſadvantagious to their Office, as their *Birth*.

Our Education, (if we intend ſervice in way of Civill Policy) muſt be in converſe with thoſe who are therein *Arts Maſters*: or in reading their writings: or laſtly, and mainely, in an happy *uſe* of both. Neither of the two former, hardly both together, can make us ſo expert, as Practice. *Scribendo diſcimus ſcribere.* Long, Active, coſtly, and dangerous Obſervations, are the onely way to make a wiſe Stateſ-man.

Now when theſe Gentlemen, I meane, the moſt refined wits amongſt them, (for others come not within our queſtion;) deſigne the Miniſteriall Function, they either lay aſide *Divinity*, and ſo God is diſpleaſed: or elſe they labour ſeriouſly in the more ſpirituall pathes; and then the Common Weale is by them deſerted. For, theſe two (ſo different) ſtudies, cannot goe forward *pari paſſu*. A Miniſter cannot ſerve *God* and *Mammon*.

I know other men think otherwiſe, (of theſe Studies) but I conceive the caſe is cleare: For ſure the complaints of good men, Canons and Acts of Councels (forbidding Miniſters to meddle in State affaires) and the Anſwers of our owne breaſts prove this truth more then ſufficiently.

You ſhall have St. *Auſtin* (in his 81. *Epiſt.*) complaining, that worldly affaires diſtracted his thoughts from his calling: and S. *Cyprian* apprehends, thoſe great perſecutions were but juſt conſequences of the Clergies guilt in this kinde. *Gregory* the great was much troubled to feele himſelfe under that load.

Secondly, Canons and Councells diſcover their judgments fully in this point; ſo *Can.* 6. 8. and 83. of the Apoſtles. *Councells* alſo doe the ſame; *Con. Carthag. Can.* 16. *Counc. Calced. Can.* 3. and thus ſtill they did

while

while Canons and Councels did at all study the advancement of Christs Kingdome.

I confesse of later times, Ministers (like Water-men) have looked one way and row'd another; so that perhaps now you may finde Canons of another straine.

But thirdly, (which may answer all Objections) let every good Minister examine but his own breast, his own heart; and then let him speake.

I am sure, to those who maintaine such Prelaticall Bishops, this absurdity will follow; that to one man the whole power may be given, both *in Civilibus, & Ecclesiasticis*: a Thing, which God thought Christ *onely* fit for; and so on His shoulders onely, did he place the Worlds Government.

Yet some will perhaps affirme, Both these compati- *Object.*
ble, and this by example from Gods owne Injunctions, to some of the Ministers, under the Law, in the Jewish Polity.

But I answere, first, There are Two maine things *Answ.* 1.
in which our Ministery, and the Jewes (of old) doe differ.

First, all their solemne externall worship, (at least most part of it) lay in Bodily Work, in such things wherin the minde & brain was but little exercised; as in offering Sacrifice, burning Incense, divers washings, &c.

Secondly, That which made their members uncapable of comming into their assemblies, was outward uncleanesse, (as touching of a dead body, Leprosy, want of Legall washings, &c.) and from hence their Ministeriall watch (one of the greatest works) became as Easy, as Outward and Visible; so that even of the inferiour Levites, were made *Porters*; and to these, the Office of restraining unmeete persons, from their Congregation, did belong.

But, now, the Worke of our Ministers under Christ, differeth *toto Cœlo*; and that both in publique and private.

In

In publique, it is Preaching, Expounding, Chatechiſing, &c. which require mighty workings of the braine, and inward man: ſpecially ſith theſe muſt be done with Majeſty and Authority, (*Let no man deſpiſe thy youth,*) and yet with all ſweeteneſſe and gentleneſſe, (*for a Biſhop muſt not be fierce.*)

In private, his Worke is to compoſe differences, (that they breake not out into publicke) to viſite the ſicke, to comfort the afflicted, (for *Who is ſicke* (ſaith *Paul*) *and I am not troubled? who is weake or offended, and I burne not?* Yea and many more workes of this Nature. And all this, beſides the care of his Family, and beſides his private ſtudy, a worke too great for any man.

If you then conſider the quantity, the variety, or ſpirituality, of the Miniſteriall Worke under the Goſpell; you cannot but acknowledge it great, very great, and much greater than that of old under the Law. Indeede they diſpute ſometimes, who have not tryed, but a painfull Preacher ſtill cryeth out, *Who is ſufficient, who is fit, for Theſe things?*

In the Cenſures of the Church (though indeede the *Keyes* be entruſted with others as well as himſelfe, yet) by his learning, piety, and prudence, he muſt ſteere all: ſo that hee muſt alwayes be awake. *Caveat Dictator ne quid detrimenti capiat Reſpublica.*

Will any man now ſay, that the Caſe of a Prieſt, and a Miniſter, is all one? for, ſuppoſe the Prieſts of old, did intermedle with ſecular affaires, ſhall any Miniſter now from this example, (when the calling is ſo vaſtly different) take upon him *both* functions? If he doe, let him take heede he be not as one that hath taken up the Plough of the Kingdome of Heaven, and then doth the worke of the Lord negligently: If ſo, his judgement will be intolerable.

Anſw. 2. But, in the ſecond place, I anſwere confidently, and I hope truely, that *theſe two* Offices, or Callings, did not under the Law, meete in *One*, except in ſome *Extraordinary* Caſes, and perſons.

1. The

Flrſt, the old Patriarchs, I confeſſe, did exerciſe *Both Functions*, in ſome ſenſe, and in ſome ſenſe they did not: (I meane as a *Calling.*) *Abraham* indeed ſwayed the Scepter; but his whole Kingdome was limited to his owne Family; and ſo he was a King, and no King; for every Maſter of a Family muſt in the like caſe keepe up Government.

I confeſſe he offered Sacrifice; but then, when there was no Law, no Prieſt: and others might have done it as well as He, had they beene ſo well inclined. Thus he was a Prieſt, and no Prieſt; for in his Prieſtly Office, hee did but what every good man would doe; at leaſt might have done: and in his Kingly Office, he was but as a Maſter of a Family. And ſo it was in the reſt of the Patriarches; ſo that little can be urged from theſe examples. To which may alſo be referr'd, that old inſtance of *Melchiſedech*; if at leaſt he were a man, and not the Second Perſon of the Trinity, in mans forme; as *Cuneus*, *Molineus*, and many others hold.

Secondly, I finde Two Judges that were High-Prieſts alſo; *Samuel* and *Ely*: but it ſeemes they were thus, by ſome expreſſe, particular, Extraordinary Command: for God ſaith to *Samuell*, *Theſe have not rejected Thee, but Me*: intimating that he had particularly appointed him to judge, as in an Extraordinary Caſe, which may therefore bee no preſident for Ordinary men, in Ordinary Caſes. *Samuels* ſpeciall calling appeares not onely from his being devoted before his Birth, and ſtrange call of God, after: but moſt clearely in that he was not (as all the Prieſts were to be) of *Aarons* houſe; as appeares by 1 *Sam.* 1. Compared with 1 *Chron.* 6. Yea and *Ely* too, though of *Aaron*, yet was not of the eldeſt ſonne; (whoſe Line by right ought to have had the High-Prieſthood) as the Jewes diſcourſe at large; and of late *Cloppenburge*, in his Excellent *Schoole* of Sacrifice.

Now *Hoſeah* may by ſpeciall Licenſe take a wife of Adulteries; *Abraham* Sacrifice his childe; the Jewes bor-

row Jewels of the Ægyptians, and *Phineas* doe juſtice by an extraordinary command or inſtinct, but we may not follow theſe preſidents.

Some ſay that inferiour *Levites* did intermeddle in ſecular affaires. But I anſwere, there were *Levites* of two ſorts; out of one ſort, *Prieſts* were choſen, (out of *Aarons* Line;) the others were like the *Seculars* among the *Jeſuites*. And theſe laſt did (as the Seculars doe) performe the *Civill* part of thoſe *Religious* Services; and nothing elſe, that I can finde in Scripture, or Story.

Laſtly, for the High Prieſts after the Jewiſh Government was broken in pieces, I hope no body will bring them for a preſident: there being then no Viſion for ſpirituall things from God, no more Government for Civill things, according to the Rule of God.

Of thoſe times *Joſephus* complaineth, that the *Aſhmonei* had taken upon them the Uniting of *Prieſt-hood* and *Secular power*, in one perſon; which could not bee done, but in extraordinary caſes, by Gods ſpeciall command. And thus I ſuppoſe they will get but little from Gods injunctions among the Jewes.

Object. But ſome ſtill will ſay, that one of theſe Studies may fit for another. All truthes, *Polemicke, poſitive*, whether Politique, Philoſophicall, or Theologicall, are of neere conſanguinity; and he that is a *Gnoſtique* in one, cannot be a meere *Tyrunculus* in the other.

Anſw. 1. I confeſſe did they improve their Studies to the ripening of Reaſon, and inlarging of their underſtanding, This might in ſome ſenſe be true. But they ſpend their time in Criticall, Cabaliſticall, Sceptical, Scholaſticall Learning: which fills the head with empty, aeriall, notions; but gives no ſound food to the Reaſonable part of man. Yea their ſtudy is mainely layd out upon bookes; which they prize, and ſleight as they pleaſe; while they want, *Cotem Scientiæ & ingenii*, a Reall Adverſary, that by contradiction might raiſe their Parts, and much inlarge their judgements. Their learning is

in

in *Termes*, it is but *Nominall*; and waters cannot rise higher than their Fountaine.

But allow that they improve their studies to the best; yet this is not enough: For, State Policy is the Daughter of Converse, Observation, Industry, Experience, Practice; and Bookes will never Teach That: but They are but ill Leaders of the Blinde, and what will be the issue in that Case, judge you. *Answ.* 2.

CHAP. IIII.

VVEE have seene our Bishops *Birth*, and *Breeding*, with all his Studies, and preparations to his Office; to which we have now brought him, onely that his *Election*, and *Ordination* Interpose. Of which I might speake much; but because This is the common Theame of all complaints, I shall passe it here; the rather because it may perhaps be better examined by *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*, than *State Policy*, in which I now am.

Yet by the way I cannot but propose it as worthy of State consideration; how like the inferiour Clergie is to yeeld true *Canonicall Obedience*, to one (that *nescio quo jure*, requires it by *Oath*) though he be oft forc'd on them against, and never with, their expresse will; which they cannot expresse, having neither positive, nor negative votes in election. Except perchance the whole Clergie of a *Diocesse* or *Province*, may be fully represented by a Cloistred Chapiter, among which are usually the very dregges of lowest men. Who yet indeede (themselves) have no Elective votes; but after the solemne dirge of *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, are as sure to finde the Spirit in a *Conge d' eslire*, as others not long since, in the Tridentine Post-mantile.

Certainely, it is to be desired, that Christians would

ſhew as much care and conſcience in ſetting heads over whole Churches, as ſome Heathen Emperours did in ſetting Governours over private Townes; which yet they would not doe, till at leaſt free liberty was given to the Citizens complaint and rejection, if not Election, of the party propounded. And this *Antoninus* learnt from the Jewes, and Chriſtians choyce of Their Church Governours in Thoſe Times: though now Latter ages are growne Wiſer. But I muſt leaue This ſubject.

We are now come to view our Biſhop *in his Office.* Though we may complaine (as one once of *Lewes* the 11.) he cannot be fairely limn'd, becauſe ſtill in *Motion*: which yet in it ſelfe might be, at leaſt excuſable; were he not *nimium Diligens*, too officious; being made up of Two moſt inconſiſtent Offices, the one of *Church*, the other of *State*.

His deportment in *Both*, we may gueſſe by his *Maximes* or *Rules* by which he goes; which once ſeene, wee ſhall quickely perceive how well he ſquares his *Practiſe* by his *Principles*; and how conſonant both be to true Church or State Policy.

I ſhall inſtance but in one or two, for we may know *Ex ungue Leonem.* The *Climax* runnes up thus.

Firſt, the Church hath power in all Indifferents.

Secondly, the Church is Judge what is Indifferent.

Thirdly, the Biſhops (and their Creatures) are This Church.

If a Prince hath power to Command the perſons and eſtates of his Subjects in caſe of *Neceſſity*, and the ſame Prince be ſole judge of *Neceſſity*, it will be no wonder to me, if That People be ever *Neceſſitous*.

If the Church have power *in Adiaphoris*, and the ſame Church be Judge *Quid ſit Adiaphoron*; and This Church be the *Biſhops*; I ſhall not wonder to ſee thoſe things that are purely *Indifferent*, made *abſolutely neceſſary*, to the inſupportable burden of all mens conſciences.

Object. But ſome will perhaps ſay, *Theſe Maximes* have influence

ence onely into *Church* Government, and so belong not to the present question of *State Policy*.

I confesse, did they confine the pressing of these, within the confines of the *Church*, they could not so properly belong to the dispute in hand: but they run over; For the *Maxime* is very large. It is not onely Indifferent things in the *Church*, but Indifferent things in generall, *All Indifferent things*; and so they may take in, what they will. *Answ.*

Againe, they doe really set Lawes in *State* matters, under the notion of Indifferent; so that all the *Subjects Liberty*, or propriety in goods. They compasse with their *Net* of *Indifferencie*, which they make heavie with the plummets of greatest penalties.

Yea, though they medled not at all, with such Things as these, without their *Horizon*; yet if they make those Things to be *Indifferent* which are *stumefull*, (as they doe, I feare) and to These *inforce obedience* with pretence of *Church Policy*, They overthrow all *Civill* Government.

I take such *Maximes*, to be the very *Hinges* upon which our Bishops Practice turneth. I shoote not Arrowes of Scorne: For truely I have not in my intentions, either by Louts, or jeeres, or by a factious Spirit, to deale with This Adversary. *Michael* himselfe would not *revile* the *Devill*: It much lesse becomes me, so to behave my selfe towards These Men (with whom I treat) among whom I know so many truely Eminent: I desire to speake nothing but Truth. Yea, I should exceedingly rejoyce, if by the Spirit of Meekenesse, men of that Learning, and abilities, (which many of them are) might bee reduced to That, which I from my Soule conceive to bee truth, and am perswaded will be so acknowledged by Themselves, one day.

If these then be their *Tenets*, (as I suppose they will confesse them to be) Is there any thing more *Unreasonable?* more *Unbrotherly?* more savouring of *Selfe*, than These *Positions*?

Unreasonable? For, allow the *Church* hath all power in *Indifferents*, (which I dare not yeeld,) who hath made the *Church* a *Judge* (beyond appeale) *what is Indifferent?* Is not this, to bring *necessary* and *indifferent* things all under one notion, If the Church shall judge *indifferent* things to be *necessary*, and *necessary* to be indifferent? which would to me be a sad story.

But you will say, if the Church bee not the Judge of what is *Indifferent*; who may be That Judge?

I tell you, asking of questions is no answering of difficulties.

But secondly, (because I love to deale plainely,) I will tell you who shall be Judge: In expounding of Scripture, the *Scripture*; but in finding out what is *indifferent*, *Recta Ratio* must be Judge.

But who shall tell us what is *Recta Ratio*? I answere, *Recta Ratio*; Will any man, if the Church shall judge That to be *indifferent*, which is not, say it is indifferent? or that my conscience is bound in this case? *Ex. grat.* I doe confesse the *houre* when the Congregation shall meete, is *indifferent*; if the Church will appoint hereupon *Eleven* of the Clock at night, and *Five* in the morning (in this *Latitude* under which we are) I hope no man will say but that it is ill done of the Church; and that neither my conscience, nor my outward man, is bound further in This, than to a *passive* obedience; certainely all force upon me, in this case, would be sinne in them.

Object. But they will say, this is a thing in its selfe *Unreasonable*, and so commeth not into the nature of *indifferent* thing.

Answ. But the Church having such power, as is claimed, who may dispute it?

But secondly, this action must be considered either in the universall nature of it, or else as it is presently to bee put in practise. If you value and ballance it in this last sense, nothing is indifferent, no substantiall, nor circumstan-

cumſtantiall Being. For we being bound to doe That, which *hic & nunc* is beſt, That which is ſo with the circumſtances, will be our guide, and the Church will have, can have, no power againſt This.

But if you conſider things in the univerſall nature, (not cloathed with theſe and theſe circumſtances) then it ſeemeth to have ſome *Indifferency*; and then, if ever, it is in the *Churches* power; and yet even then, the *Church* can goe no further, than what will be according to *Reaſon*. For, for a Church to ſay, I will, becauſe *I will*, is moſt *Papall*, Tyrannicall, and altogether diſpleaſing to Chriſt: but of This, more in another place.

Thus their Tenets ſeeme to me very *Unreaſonable*; They will doe more than *Adam* did: He gave *Names* to Things according to their Natures; they will give *Natures* according to their owne fancies.

Secondly, very *Unbrotherly*; in that they make themſelves the *Church*, excluding all others: in which act, (according to their Tenets) they exclude all others from Salvation; for they ſay, in an ordinary way, there is no Salvation out of the Church; and They in this, admit none into the Church, but themſelves.

Moſes was, upon a miſtake, reproved by the Jewes, in that he made himſelfe a *Judge*, though in that deciſion he releaſed a Jew. Truely I know not by what authority theſe *Biſhops* ſtile themſelves the repreſentative Church; for *they* muſt doe it either *Jure humano*, or *Divino*. By the *laſt* we doe not yeeld; That is the Queſtion in hand: by the *firſt* they cannot; for where doe the people, either implicitely or explicitely, elect them and reſigne up their power to them?

Is it in their *Convocation*, that they obtaine this priviledge? That, by the Lawes of this Land, is not at all obligatory till confirmed by *Parliament*.

Secondly, the *people* chooſe not *Theſe* Convocation men, but the *Clergie*, and ſo they cannot repreſent the whole Church.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the Clergie have no *free election*, for the Biſhop will appoint whom they muſt chooſe; and this too *Sub pœna anathematis.*

The *Angells* (for the whole Miniſtery of the Church) in the *Revelation*, ſeeme to receive ſome particular honour from the Spirit; yet not the power of a *Repreſentative Body*: but *Quo jure humano, aut Divino*, Twenty ſixe men ſhall challenge to themſelves, as *proper*, That which is not ſo much as by a *figurative* right, given to thoſe Angels, I know not. And is not this *Unbrotherly*, to intrude my ſelfe, and exclude all others from *Their Right*?

But laſtly it ſavoureth very much of *Selfe*. For certainely he that will out-doe the *Pope*, is growne to a pretty height of *pride*. Now in the Papacy it is a diſpute, whether the Pope alone; or the whole *Colledge* of *Cardinalls*; or a Generall *Councell*; or the *People*; or *All* Theſe; or *Some* of Theſe, with their joynt forces, may ſtile themſelves the *Church*. But *Our men* without diſpute, (like the *Lyon* in the Fable) challenge *All*: of whom the Poet is verified; *Ætas Patrum, pejor avo, tulit progeniem nequiorem.* And yet, whoever takes up Errour at the Second hand, will have an ill bargaine; though he buy it cheape; hee will be no gainer. Error being like the *Jeruſalem-Artichoake*; plant it where you will, it over-runnes the ground and choakes the Heart.

Thus having with the chaines of *Indifferency* bound up the Peoples *Liberty*; they deale no better with their *Prince*. Onely *Polyphemus*-like, they leave *Ulyſſes* for the laſt. For, when the People are devoured, Kings cannot eſcape. But becauſe Kings are of more prying Spirits, they ſteale in upon them, with Sugared Baites: ſuch as That of Theirs, *No Biſhop, No King*. But of This more anon.

I might inſtance in many other of their *Maxims*, which I conceive very prejudiciall, both to *Church*, and *State Policy*. But I will rather view their *Practiſe*, according to Theſe *Principles* of *Indifferency*. In this I ſhall be very ſhort, not meaning to upbraide them with many

mon-

monstrous miscarriages of late; the rather, because I am confident that God, his Majestie, and The Parliament, will not permit them longer to transgresse in This height.

Onely I cannot but intreat you to observe, how by Their *Injunctions* founded on Those *Maximes*, They have imposed as *necessary*, many things that are but *Indifferent*, some things that are *Unlawfull*.

First many Things but *Indifferent*, they have injoyned as *necessary*. Some to *Ministers*, as Cassockes, Gownes, Tippets, Hoods, Caps, Canonicall Coats, Blackes, and many other. Some to *People*, as Sitting with their hats off; Standing up at *Gloria Patri*, the *Gospell*, and other parts of service. Weighty matters indeed, for Grave, Learned, Holy, Reverend Divines, to spend their time and thoughts upon.

I might perhaps goe a little higher; though I must confesse in some other things (now prest as *necessary*) They have had Authority above their owne (though I conceive, none for such rigid imposall;) I meane the Highest, granted by the whole representative State Civill and Ecclesiasticall: which yet (with all duty to that wombe which bare mee, and Those Breasts That gave mee suck hath thought some things indifferent, which (I could scarce ever apprehend such: at least as of late they have beene enjoyned on greatest penalties. It hath oft made my soule bleed, to see the greatest sinnes daily committed, without more than a paper check, (that I may not say countenanced) while thousands must sigh in private, with losse of eares, goods, estates, livings, liberty, all; only for refusall of Those things, that at best can be but Indifferent.

But However these things may be in thēselves: sure I am, our Bishops have prest them not only beyond the Laws intention, but also much against the meaning of those good men; who in the first *Reformation*, did (though perhaps erroneously) what Christ once lawfully permitted,

in almoſt the ſame caſe; allowing a convenient Time for Buriall of thoſe Ceremonies, which yet appeared not *Mortiferæ*, though *Mortuæ*.

Yea and ſome things *unlawfull*, by their owne power They have forced upon *Miniſter* and *People* under the maske of *Indifferent*.

On the *Miniſters*, the Reading of the Booke of *Sports*, (firſt invented by themſelves) that monſtrous and prodigious late *Oath*, with divers new *Canons*, not enjoyned by *Parliament*, or any other Legall authority. I might adde their bare bidding forme of Prayer, *Second Service* at the *Altar*, (though it could not be heard) an illegall Oath of *Canonicall* Obedience, (blind devotion) and a new forme of ſubſcription before Degrees, Orders, Inſtitutions, &c.

On *Them* and the *People*, placing the Communion Table *Altar-wiſe*; Railing it in; Bowing to it; Receiving at it, &c. For I will now paſſe over their moſt unchriſtian *Oath Ex Officio*, (fouler than the foulеſt dregges of that cruell *Inquiſition*) at one blow cutting aſunder all the nerves, not onely of *poſitive*, but *morall*, *naturall* Lawes; all which (being tender of the leaſt graine of mans liberty) have entruſted us with this *Univerſall* maxime, *Nemo tenetur ſe prodere*.

Thus it is manifeſt, Their *Practice* is according to their *Principles*, towards the *People*. And they have no leſſe incroacht upon the *Crowne*.

Do they not affirme, that in Civill Government, *Democracie*, *Ariſtocracie*, *Monarchy*, are all lawfull: and that of Theſe, ſeverall people may (at firſt) chuſe which they pleaſe. But for *Epiſcopacie*, 'tis ſtill with them, onely *Jure Divino*: in which they ſeeme to affirme *Themſelves* to ſtand upon a *ſurer* Rock then *Kings*. In This they erre againſt much light, (I feare) But, God forgive them.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

BUt that we may no longer be impos'd upon, by This principle of *Indifferent*, give me leave to discover my thoughts in these *two* particulars.

First, What is *Indifferent*.

Secondly, Where the *Power* of *Indifference* is fixt.

Some call those things *Indifferent* which are neither forbidden, nor commanded: but here they tell us onely what 'tis *not*, and *Negatives* make no *Definition*.

Those also who affirme that to be *Indifferent*, which may, or may not be done, leave us as much to seeke, as the former.

I must intreat the Reader to remember, that wee are now upon *Morall beeings*: where the Two maine *Ingredients*, *Matter* and *Forme*, can be but *Metaphysically* Notionall, and therefore it will be hard to give an exact *Definition*: Seeing even in *Naturals* (whose matter *occurrit sensibus*) 'tis difficult enough.

Before I assay to give the nature of it in a Definition, give me leave to present you with some kind of *Etymologie*.

In the word *Indifferent*, the preposition *In*, is (They say) purely *negative*, though in other compounds (as *incipere*, *inflammare*, *incitare*, *insuere*, &c,) it beareth another sense, which they call *augmentative*. But in the word *Indifferent* it must *deny* a *Difference*, as much as *non differens*.

But under favour of our learned *Critickes*, I do not conceive that particle in This place wholly *negative*. Nor can I thinke *Caninius*, *Martinius*, or other good Grammarians (when they call this preposition *privative*) intend to make it wholly *negative*: but to *my* eye, to *my* sense, in *such*, and *such* circumstances.

When *a man* is said to be *Imprudent*, *incautus*, or the

like; we may not judge Him altogether, *ſine prudentia, ſine cautela*: for *Animal Rationale* cannot be quite devoid of *theſe*. And therefore if we take *Imprudens* (in this propoſition, *Hic homo eſt imprudens*) in a pure negative ſenſe, the *Predicate* is deſtructive to the *Subject*. So that I dare not thinke our Anceſters and learned men would give *Epithets*, or mak *Compoſitions* contrary to all reaſon.

Such Propoſitions are then thus farre *Negative*, as by way of figure, to deny any *caution*, any *prudence*, whereas indeed they muſt allow both; except in ſuch or ſuch a particular, ſuch or ſuch a ſenſe.

Such doubtleſſe is the ſenſe of this Prepoſition, in the word *Indifferent*: not purely *Non differens*, but in *ſuch*, or *ſuch* a reſpect, it *Differeth not*. Though in another reſpect, it may, and doth *Differ*; even from the very ſame Thing with which yet in other reſpects it *Differeth not*.

This Etymologie I chuſe the rather, becauſe I ſee the Criticks, in all their Etymologies, love to give to each part (in the compoſition) a *Poſitive ſignification*. Which I cannot do here, unleſſe I tranſlate *Indifferens*, *Differing*, and yet *not differing*: a ſenſe which alſo the *Greeke* word διάφορον will fully beare; For (if by other imployments I have not loſt the ſmattering once I had in that Tongue) the phraſe ſeemes beſt applyable to a *Medium*, that doth *not fully*, or *wholly*, *carry it ſelfe off* from *both* the *Extremes*, but *participates of either*.

Such an *Indifferent-difference* hath cleerly place in all thoſe *Natura's*, which betweene two poſitive *extremes* (ſuch as *Blacke* and *White*; *Hot* and *Cold*) have a poſitive *Medium*, *Participationis* (becauſe it participates of both extremes) and *Negationis* too, becauſe it is *neither*. This *Medium* is properly *Indifferent* to either *Extreme*; from which it *Differeth*, and yet it *Differeth not*: becauſe it is *neither* of the Two *Extremes*, yet *participates of Both*. Thus Lukewarme, as Warme, Differeth not from *Hot*, yet Differeth as Coole: and therefore is *Indifferent*.

This ſenſe of *Indifferent*, being thus made good in

Naturals;

Naturals; some would borrow and apply to *Morall*, *Theologicall Beings* also. So that betweene *Good* and *Bad*, they fancie an *intermediate* Entity, neither *Good* nor *Bad*, but *Indifferent* to either. As once a *Moderator* in the Schooles, being to determine whither *Lucretia* did well in stabbing herselfe; seeing that Action Good in many respects, and Bad in as many more, concluded thus, *Nec bene fecit, nec male fecit, sed* Interfecit.

But I conceive, such *Indifference*, will not, cannot be found in *Morals*, as it is in *Naturals*. The reason is, because the two *extremes* are not here (as in many *Naturals*) Both *Positive Beings*; so that a *Medium* may really participate of *Both*. *White* and *Blacke* indeed are *Both positives*, but so is not *Evill*; but onely the privation of *Good*, which is the other extreme.

Moralists dispute how *Passions* are *Indifferent*, but they are put on great straits, and limit it onely to passions *in specie* (indeed onely in a *Notion*) which yet *in sensu composito* cannot be said to be ever *Both Good* and *Bad*, or *neither Good* nor *Bad*, but being still *Good naturally*, may be morally either *Good*, or *Bad*, *in individuo*, but *in sensu diviso*, not *Composito*.

For the same individuall action, or passion (in man) cannot be said both *Good* and *Bad* (take it in *actu exercito*) in the same respects; yea, if in any *One* morall respect, it be *truly Bad*, it cannot at all be said to be *properly Good*. For an *Error* or *Defect* in any one *Morall* (though but so much as a *Circumstance*) truly denominates the *whole act* in *Evill*; but onely a perfect and universall concatenation of all essentials and circumstantials too, denominates it *Good*. Even as in *Logicke*, any one negative proposition makes the *whole Syllogisme* such; when to an *Affirm'd* Syllogisme, every part must be affirm'd. So 'tis in *Morals* too: And hence perhaps the old Stoickes affirm'd, *Omnia peccata* to be *paria*. Which is one of *Tullies Paradoxes*: because saith hee *One* Step *beside* the *Line*, may as truly be said to to be a *Transgression*, as a *thousand*, or running a

thousand miles from it. It is well observed by *Aquinas*, that as a Body is not perfectly set *in suo bene esse naturali*, by a bare *forme* without *Accidents*; so neither an Act *in bene esse morali*, by onely *object* and *end*, rightly fixed: except also every *Morall circumstance*, of time, place, &c. rightly concurre.

They who will have our *Vertues* equally *distare ab extremis*, are much more in the right, than they who will have an *Indifferent* thing (speaking of *Morals*) to *partake* of *Both extremes*. Indeed *Vertue* flying from one *extreme*, when it is rancountred with an equall *Evill*, is arrest in *medio*: as *Iron* when accosted by two *Loadstones* of equall vertue on either side, not daring to embrace either, hovereth *in medio*, betweene *Both*. Or as the *Magneticall needle* about the *Azores*, keepeth it selfe directly parallell to the *Axis* of the world; and admitteth no *variation* because *in medio*, betweene the two great *Continents* (of *Europe* and *America*) to which some great Philosophers ascribe the *Magneticall* vertue, with better reason perhaps then others did, before, to the *Northern* pole, or *Northern* Climates.

From all these premises, we will now assay to draw some conclusions that may helpe us in judging what may be *Indifferent*.

First, it must be in it selfe *Good*, *wholly Good*. For if it have but one dram of *Evill*, it is *wholly Bad* (as was proved before) and so not *Indifferent*. We have found the *Genus* of it; it is *Good*, *Lawfull*.

In the second place, to make our approach a little neerer (if we can) and to descend more particularly into the *Differing nature* of it; We must confesse it lies mainly in the seeming *equality* of *Use*. So that it may be thus described, a thing *Lawfull* and *Good*, which (as we think) *may be Used* or *not*: *may* or *may not* be done.

But here wee must take heed we lose not our selves in *Termes*: For if they meane that some things at one time may be done, and at another may not; I yeeld this True:

For

For perhaps This yeare I may not marry, and yet next yeare I may, and in some circumstances must, else I sinne. But in this Hypothesis Marriage is not generally *Indifferent*, because not generally *Lawfull*; but at some time lawfull, at sometime not.

If they meane the same Thing, (the same Act) at one and the same time by the same person, *may*, or *may not*, be done *ad placitum*, without offence: I must crave leave to dissent, till I see more, than now I see.

For I conceive two direct contraries, (as to marry, and not marry) at the same time, to the same person, cannot be so equally circumstantiated, that one of them, at least in one circumstance (which is enough) shall not be *Better* than the other. And if one be *Best*, I conceive it past scruple, that I may not reject that *Best*, and chuse the *Worst*.

Now, if I mistake not, I am neere the *Apex* of this question, which yet (*Pernassus*-like) hath a double *Vertex*.

The one is, whether in two contraries (as *Doing, not doing*) one must not needs be *Better* than the other.

The second is, whether in this case I am not tied to take, and doe the *Best*, but am equally *Indifferent* to *Both*.

I will begin with this last first. In this I know I have many opposites, who stifly maintaine, that *Optimum non est semper faciendum*: amongst these is that good man lately deceased, (to the Churches great losse) Reverend M. *Ball*, in his *Friendly Triall* of *Separation*.

I thinke it a subtile dispute, worth the discussing; for if they meane thus, That which is *Best*, is not at all times *Lawfull* to be done while it is best; This sense cannot be true: for here the *Predicate* is destructive to the *subject*; For, that which is *unlawfull* is not *good*, much lesse *Best*, at the time when *unlawfull*.

Or if they meane, that [illegible] *Best* (*in Re*) is not alwaies *Possible* to be done, they say True, but tell mee no new thing. For all men will yeeld This; and in This case I must

muſt conſider, what is Beſt poſſible to *me*, becauſe I cannot do the Beſt *in Re*.

I ſuppoſe then they meane that which is *Beſt*, and poſſible to me, is not ſtill *neceſſary* to be done, even while it is beſt: but though I *may do* it, yet I may alſo leave it *undone*, and do that which is *leſſe* good.

Here alſo they may deceive us with *Termes*. For they may meane either *Beſt* in *Truth*, or *Beſt* to *appearance*. And when theſe two cannot be reconciled by all my ſearch, I muſt conſider that which *ſeemes* (though perhaps *is not*) the *Beſt*.

We ſhall now ſoone joyne iſſue. And the caſe is; whether, when I muſt of neceſſity either *do*, or *not doe*, or when I muſt do either *This* or *That*; I be not bound to do what *is Beſt*, (or at leaſt on exacteſt ſearch, *ſeemes* Beſt) if it be *poſſible* to be Done by mee.

If they take the *Negative* part (of this queſtion ſo ſtated) I hope yet they will give mee leave to hold the *affirmative*, and yet without offence, till my judgement may be better inform'd.

My grounds briefly are theſe, Firſt it is *Lawfull* to doe This *Beſt*; elſe it is not Good, much leſſe Beſt, as was ſaid before. Againe, it is *expedient* to do this *Beſt*: or elſe ſome thing (at leaſt ſome one Ciocumſtaice of *Expedience*) is in the other good, which is not in This, and ſo *This* is not *Beſt*, but *That*, at this time, though at another time, perhaps, *This* may be *Beſt*, it is not *Beſt* now, becauſe not beſt expedient and moſt convenient.

And now this caſe comes not to our queſtion, which is of *Beſt* in all circumſtances; for wee know one circumſtance may ſo alter the caſe, that now *That* may be *worſt*, *which elſe* would have beene *beſt*, as was ſaid before. So that at this time, *This* cannot be *Better* than *That*, except *This* be not onely in it ſelfe *expedient*, but alſo *more* expedient than *That* is at this preſent: for one graine of more *expedience* makes that to be *beſt*, which elſe would be *Worſt*.

I demand now how I can be determined to That which is *leſſe expedient* ? though ſuppoſed *equally lawfull* by *Right Reaſon*? All Philoſophers yeeld, (and it needeth no diſpute) that the *Underſtanding* rectified ſtill dictates to the *Will Optimum faciendum*. And how is it poſſible I ſhould do well, if I follow not the Dictate of *Right Reaſon*? *Video meliora, proboque; deteriora ſequor.*

See now to what a ſtrait I am brought; If I follow the Dictate of *Right Reaſon*, I muſt ſtill doe what is Dictated, as now *Beſt*. And Right Reaſon muſt ſtill (where ſome Action is neceſſary) dictate *That* to be done, which *is* (at leaſt, *ſeemes*) Beſt.

For, if Right Reaſon ſhould ever (though but once) dictate, that This which is Beſt, is not Now to be done, but ſomewhat *Worſe*; It may much be ſuſpected Right Reaſon may *never* dictate the *Beſt* to be done.

For, by this Caſe (of one ſuch Dictate) it would appeare, that when ever *Reaſon* doth happen to dictate Right, it is but by *chance*, or ſome *fancy* of its owne; not by any certaine conſtant Rule, taken from the *Nature* of *Things*, rightly ſtated in ſuch and ſuch circumſtances; For if ſo, it muſt ſtill judge *eodem modo*, of That which is ſo circumſtantiated. And, if it once vary from this Rule, it will ſeeme to have no Rule, but its owne fancy. And in this Caſe, we ſhall bee under *Reaſon*, as under a moſt *corrupt Judge*, that will follow no conſtant Rule (founded on the Nature of Things) but onely his own humor; which will give very Different judgements on the very ſame, or like Caſes, in all circumſtances.

I ſee but Two Things can helpe them out of This ſtraite. Either, that (though Right Reaſon cannot but dictate that the Beſt in all circumſtances, muſt ſtill bee done, yet) we are not bound to follow *Right Reaſons Dictates*, when we ſee them. Or elſe, we be not bound to *aske* Right Reaſon, what it will dictate; but may doe (hand over head as they ſpeake) without any Dictate of Reaſon, Right or Wrong.

But, Both Theſe ſeeme to me very ſtrange Doctrine. For,

Firſt, If I may but once goe againſt the Dictate of *Right Reaſon*, and yet not ſinne; I may goe ten thouſand times, yea *Ever* againſt it; and ſo all my acts may be *Irrationall*, and yet not ſinfull: a ſtrange Tenet: and ſure a Caſe never to be found but in a diſtracted man; who ſinnes not though all his Acts be againſt Reaſon becauſe His Reaſon is not able to direct him; or at leaſt He not able to follow Reaſon; and in this caſe God requires it not.

And the Caſe is even the ſame; when I Act without asking Reaſons Dictate, as if I acted againſt Reaſons Dictate. For till I ſee I act *with*, for ought I know, I act *againſt* Right Reaſon; and ſo I ſinne.

Not yet, that I thinke a man bound before Every (though the moſt common) Action, to ſtay diſputing for ſome houres or dayes, till Reaſon hath given its finall Dictate. For, this were to turne all practiſe into bare and nice Speculation. There are many Things by common uſe, and by themſelves, ſo cleare that at firſt view Reaſon preſently determines. Yet if there riſe but the leaſt ſcruple at the firſt glimps; Then, man is bound to diſcuſſe it, till Reaſon rectifi'd dictate the Action Lawfull, and Beſt to be done: And till This Dictate, the Act muſt be ſuſpended. For I ſtill thought That a dangerous Maxime in State policy; firſt, to *Doe* matters (not like to ſound well) and then to *diſpute* Them: and it ſounds worſe in Matters of Religion.

I have done with the firſt Great Queſtion, whether *Optimum ſit ſemper faciendum.*

I come to the Next, whether amongſt divers Things (to be done) There be ſtill One *Optimum.* I muſt meane whether there be any *Optimum*, for more than *One* there cannot be at one time.

We may briefely State the Queſtion Thus. Whether at one any time Two, or more Things, (ſuppoſe to Marry, and

and not to Marry) can poſſibly be ſo *Equally Good* to me, that *One* of them is not Better than the *Other*.

I Thinke not. For, I diſpute thus; I muſt be determined to one of theſe Two, (having no *medium*) I muſt Marry, or not Marry. Now I aske what ſhall determine me to either? Right Reaſon (they muſt anſwere) or my owne Fancy, Will, or other Thing.

I rejoyne; if Right Reaſon determine me; either it doth ſo on no good ground; (and then I do a groundleſſe unreaſonable Act, in following Reaſon) or on ſome Ground, whoſe foundation is in *Re*. For, if we once grant *Reaſon* any Rule, or Ground, but that Certaine, Conſtant Truth, which is fixt in the *Nature* of *Things*; we ſhall make it, of all Judges, moſt uncertaine, moſt corrupt. If once I ſee my *Reaſon* judge point blancke againſt *Reall Truth*, I ſhall ſuſpect it ſtill.

Well then, it muſt be granted, Right Reaſon hath determined me (not to Marry) on ſome good Ground, taken from the Nature of Marriage; (not in Generall, for This would deceive me, but particularly conſidered with all circumſtances *pro hic & nunc*;) ſo that it muſt alſo be granted, There was one or more circumſtances, which made Marriage more unfit than *non* Marriage (elſe Reaſon hath *made*, not found a Ground *in Re*, which it muſt never doe;) *Ergo*, of Marriage and Non-Marriage, One ſtill is *Beſt in re*, (at leaſt to Reaſons eye) elſe Reaſon doth unreaſonably determine me not to Marry, or to Marry.

And if Right Reaſon have not, or cannot, determine me; to which ſide ſo ever I incline, and reſt, I ſinne; becauſe I act *Unreaſonably*: being determined by humour, fancy, paſſion, a wilfull Will, and not Right Reaſon; The Candle of God, which He hath lighted in Man, leſt man groaping in the Darke ſhould ſtumble, and fall.

I may now ſtep a little higher; and affirme, that of Two Contraries, or any Two Extreames, *Both* are ſo farre from being *Equally* Good, that *pro hoc ſtatu*, in theſe

Circumſtances, Both cannot be Good at all or Lawfull.

For, if of Theſe Two, One muſt be *Beſt*, and but One; and this One now neceſſary to be done (becauſe Beſt) as was proved before; It will follow that the other extreame is now, in theſe circumſtances, not Good at all to me; becauſe unlawfull to be done, while now there is a better in view; though elſe in it ſelfe, with other circumſtances, it would have beene Lawfull, Good, and Beſt.

If Right Reaſon determine it be better not to Marry, at this time, and I be ſtill bound to doe what Right Reaſon ſhall dictate Beſt (as was prov'd before:) Now, in theſe Circumſtances, Marriage is unlawfull to me, and ſo *not Good at all*, at this time, becauſe leſſe Good than Non-Marriage. ſo *Achitophels* Counſell was Bad, being not good for That time, becauſe not Beſt.

For as Moraliſts ſay, if it be poſſible Man could be neceſſitated to chuſe *One* of *Two* Evills; in That caſe the *Leſſe evill*, would be Good: So, when I am neceſſitated to chuſe *One* out of *two* (ſuppoſed) *Goods*, the *leſſe Good* would be *Evill*, and unlawfull to me, who am ſtill bound (for ought I can yet ſee) to doe *Optimum pro hoc ſtatu*.

The *Concluſion* I ayme at, through all theſe *Premiſſes*, is This. There is no One Thing, no One Act; in all the World, That I *may doe*, or *not doe*, *ad placitum*, all Circumſtances conſidered.

For, This Act (ſo propounded) either is Beſt for that time, and ſo muſt needes be done: or not Beſt, and ſo muſt not be done; becauſe in theſe Circumſtances, at This Time, it is *Unlawfull*; as not being *Good* while a *Better* is in eye: as hath I hope fully beene proved.

From This, reſults our finall Determination concerning *Indifference* (which is our Subject in hand:) No Thing, No Act, is *Indifferent* in *Se*, in *Re*: but either *neceſſary* to be done (if *Beſt*) or *unlawfull* to be done, if *Bad*, or *leſſe Good*, *pro hoc ſtatu*.

What ſhall we ſay then; hath the World talked ſo much

much of *Indifference*, and the *power in Indifference*, And yet no *Indifference*, at all, be in the World?

Give me leave here freely to propound my owne thoughts, without offence; being ſtill more deſirous to learne, than to Dictate.

I conceive that all the *Indifference* (in the world) lyes in our Underſtandings, and the Darkeneſſe thereof; (which makes them wavering ſometimes, and doubtfull whether to doe or not, ſo that in Them ſeemes ſome *Indifference* to either extreme) but there is none in the things themſelves, or Actions; which are ſtill either *unlawfull*, or *neceſſary* (if Lawfull, at this time in theſe Circumſtances;) never *Indifferent* in Themſelves.

As then it is in the point of *Contingence*, every thing is either True or Falſe; Certainly *to Be*, or *not to Be*; and in one of theſe ſtill *Neceſſary* in *Re*, and never *Contingent*; yet to *Me*, (who cannot ſee the whole *Chaine* of *Cauſes*) ſome things *ſeeme Contingent*, that *are neceſſary*. So for *Indifference*. All Things, All Acts, are *in Re*, either *Neceſſary* to be done, or *Unlawfull*; but to my blind judgement, (while I cannot diſcerne whether I may Act, or may not) ſome things *Seeme*, but *are not Indifferent*; and ſo we thinke (but erroneouſly) that Theſe may be done, or not, as we pleaſe.

For example ſake, ſuppoſe an unskilfull Phyſitian have two *Simples* by him, one of which is poyſon, and the other a pretious Cordiall; will any man living ſay, Theſe are *Indifferent* for a ſick mans cure; ſo as he may uſe them, or not, *ad placitum*, without perill? And yet now ſuppoſe the Phyſitian ignorant of both their Natures: they may be ſaid to be *Indifferent* (though not in themſelves) yet to Him; who not knowing either, is *Indifferent* to Both; and thinkes he may apply which he will, without offence; yet if he apply the one he erres, becauſe 'tis *poyſon*.

So it is in all the Things, or Acts we thinke *Indifferent*. In themſelves they are poyſons, or cordials, very Good (and ſo *neceſſary*) or very Bad, and ſo unlawfull: But

while our judgements are clouded, ſo that we ſee not the Nature of theſe Objects, or Acts: we are *Indifferent* (becauſe wavering) betweene *Them*; but *They* are not ſo *in ſe*; or Really to us.

I may conclude then, Nothing is Indifferent *in Re, in ſe*; but to our *Underſtanding* ſome things ſeeme ſo, for want of Good light.

CHAP. VI.

I Have now done with the Nature of *Indifference*, in which I have beene the more large, becauſe I found it more abſtruſe than it ſeemed at firſt view. I come now ſhortly to examine *What power may determine in Indifference*, and *where this Power is fixed.*

To All, I may anſwer briefly thus. *By Divine Right, This Power is, and is not, in the Church.* The Church hath, and hath not, power in *Indifferent* things.

Firſt, the *Church* hath *no power* to make any one thing *Indifferent* in it ſelfe: (that is, to make it, at one, and the ſame time, lawfull to be done, or left undone, *poſitis omnibus circumſtantiis.*) For all Things and Acts, are in themſelves neceſſarily Good or Bad, and cannot be Indifferent *in Re*, as hath beene proved at large.

Againe, we cannot ſay the Church hath power to determine what is *Indifferent*. If at leaſt All *Indifference* comes onely from the *Darkneſſe* of our *Underſtanding* (as before;) It then lyes not in the power of all other men living, to determine what *ſeemes Indifferent* to one mans Underſtanding, ſince He may perhaps not ſee, what they all ſee; *& e contrario.*

We are now reduced into a narrow compaſſe, having onely left to be conſidered, Thoſe Things which *generally ſeeme Indifferent* (For there is no *Indifference in Re*, but onely in *appearance* unto us;) becauſe neither Scripture without,

Without, or light within, hath fully cleared, whether ſuch things ſhould be done, or not: or if done, whether in ſuch, or ſuch a time, place, &c. and in ſuch caſes only Things *ſeeme Indifferent*.

Now in Theſe *ſeeming Indifferents* (which ſure are not ſo many as ſome pretend) the *Church* hath, and yet hath not, power to determine.

All (though but Seeming) *Indifference*, is as it were *in medio*, betweene Two *Extremes*, as was ſaid before. Now, when *Neither* of theſe extremes is *neceſſary*, There, (ſpecially where *Both* extremes are doubtfull) I conceive the Church hath not power to determine to *Either* Extreme.

As ſuppoſe *Blacke* and *White* colours ſhould be *Doubtfull*, whether both or either, or neither, were *Lawfull*: In this caſe (for ought I yet ſee) the *Church* hath no power to determine (any one ſo doubting) to either *Blacke* or *white*. The Reaſon is, becauſe Neither of Theſe extremes are *neceſſary*, there being ſo many *intermediate* colours betweene Both.

But when One of the extremes (betweene which we waver as *Indifferent*) is *neceſſary* to be imbraced, (as in moſt caſes it is;) Here all the Power Lawfull, I conceive, can do no more but reſolve which of the Two extremes is *Beſt*; whether it be ſafeſt to Do, or not to Do (whereof one is neceſſary;) to do ſo, or ſo, if I muſt do.

This Power (where ever it be) muſt be very warily exerciſed: ſince of All *Two* extremes, *onely One* (as was proved) can be *Lawfull*: ſo that one is wholſome, but the other poyſon.

In Theſe alſo the Church *hath*, and *hath not* power. If you pleaſe, Thus; It hath a power *Judicative*, (or if you will *Juridicall*,) but not *Legiſlative*. It may and muſt determine; (for ought I know, beyond all externall appeale) yet againe it muſt not determine, *What*, and *How* it *Will*, *becauſe it Will*. No, It alſo hath its bounds, a Rule to goe by, a conſtant Law (and that *non factiam, ſed naturam*) *Right Reaſon*.

So

So that the Church is like the *Judges* on the Bench in *Weſtminſter Hall* (that have a *Judicative*, or *Declarative* power, being entruſted with the explication, application, & execution of the Laws:) but not as the *King* and *Parliament*, who have a *Legiſlative* power: and ſo not only to declare what is Law, but to make new Laws. And yet even This High Court hath one Rule, or Law to go by, (and this is alſo the Law of the Church, even *Right Reaſon.*) And if they or the Church, ſhould erre from This Rule, (which God forbid) we muſt obey indeed, but *Patiendo*, I will, I muſt give *Paſſive* obedience to Lawfull Authority; even there where I dare not, I cannot, I may not, give obedience *Active*.

By the *Church* here I meane, not onely One, or Two, or a Few, of what Ranke ſoever; but All, even every True Member of the whole Church. For I conceive every ſuch Member hath *de jure* a Vote in This Determination.

But what if after the Determination, I yet diſſent from the judgement of the greater part of the Church, which in all doubtfull cauſes, ſeemes juſtly to challenge (even by the law of Nature) a deciſive power; What ſhall I do in This Caſe? ſhall I make a Rent, Schiſme, Faction that may fire Church or State?

God forbid; no, I muſt Read, pray, diſcourſe, and conferre with all humility ſubmitting my ſelfe to the Reaſon of any man that will teach me; much more to the Judgments of many together eminent for learning and piety. And yet if after all This, I cannot be ſatisfied in my Doubts (which muſt be Reall, and not pretended ſcruples of a factious ſpirit) In this caſe, which ſure will be very Rare (where Right Reaſon is made ſupreme Judge) I muſt ſuſpend till my judgement be cleered, leſt That which to another is Lawfull, become ſinne to mee: Who cannot Act in Faith, while I act againſt or with Doubts, or Scruples.

However in the meane time, I muſt quietly deport my ſelfe without faction, turbulent commotion, or uncharitable

table cenſure of Thoſe who diſſent from me, both in Judgment and Practice; wel knowing that the ſame thing may be Lawfull and neceſſary to one that ſees it ſo; which yet to me is unlawfull, while I ſo doubt.

In This Caſe, I conceive no Power on Earth ought to force my *Practice* more than my *Judgement*. For I conceive the Churches utmoſt compulſive power (which muſt alſo very warily, and but rarely be uſed) is but Expulſion, or *Excommunication*: which yet I ſuppoſe may ſcarce ever be exerciſed on one that *ſo doubteth*: much leſſe *Fine, Impriſonment, loſſe of member, or life*: Except his diſſent in practice hath neceſſarily with it a deſtructive influence into the State alſo, and Body Politique. Which caſe I thinke hardly ever poſſible, in Thoſe Things which can be objects of Rationall Doubts: which are onely ſuch, as the Scripture hath not determined. And in all things not determined by Scripture, (which ſure muſt needes be of leſſe conſequence) One that Doubts with reaſon and humility, (may not for ought I yet ſee) be forced by Violence.

Give mee leave by ſome Inſtances to cleare my meaning, in all the premiſſes concerning the power in Indifferent Things.

Time, Place, and Deportment of our ſelves in the Congregation, are the maine, if not ſole Things, which beare this acceptation of *Indifferent*: The Scripture not having laid downe expreſſe Rules for all particular caſes of This Nature. So that wee ſeeme leaſt *Indifferent* to the uſe of This or That Place, This or That Time, This or That Geſture, &c.

In Theſe Things (not determined by Scripture) there muſt be ſome determination, becauſe one of the extremes is neceſſary, (We muſt uſe ſome Place, ſome Time, ſome Geſture) elſe all limitation here were needleſſe, if not unlawfull, as was ſaid before.

The Church then Doubtleſſe hath power to reſolve here, What Time, what Place, what Deportment, &c. and

what they do herein (though it ſhould prove to be Evill) They do by power which God hath entruſted them with.

And yet againe, The Church here muſt not command what ſhe will, becauſe ſhe Wil; but muſt goe by her Rule, which is *Right Reaſon*: if ſhe ſwarve from This, ſhe erres. And He that ſeeth Her error, or Doubteth, ſinnes alſo, if (while he ſo doubteth) he yeeld her more than *Paſſive Obedience*: and if ſhe force one ſo Doubting, I thinke ſhe ſinneth more.

Now I need not rip up the foulneſſe of our Biſhops miſcarriage in t' eir practice about Indifferent Things; which yet hath fully ſuited with their principles, as was touched before.

For though I ſhould grant (which I never ſhall) that onely they, and their Creatures, were the whole Church: Yet would they be ſo farre from a power of Making things *Indifferent*, (which yet ſome ſeeme to challenge or at leaſt to exerciſe) that indeed they have no power to determine what is *Indifferent*: ſince it may be very eaſie for ſome men to thinke That *Indifferent*, which to others ſeemes clearly either *unlawfull* or *neceſſary*.

Againe, in things ſeeming (generally) *Indifferent*, they have no power peremptorily to determine to one Extreme, when there is a *medium* betweene both extremes, and ſo neither is *Neceſſary*.

In things ſeeming Indifferent, where One extreme is neceſſary, They cannot determine *pro arbitrio*, (but by a conſtant Rule of Reaſon) much leſſe by a Tyrannicall club Law force us to do (though we rationally, and modeſtly doubt whether it be Lawfull) what they firſt *Make*, rather, than *find* Indifferent, and then (by their wonted maximes in *Indifferent* Things) make *Neceſſary*, on paine of Impriſonment, loſſe of Eares, yea life it ſelfe.

Which yet might be more tolerable, if they onely tooke a Dictatorlike power to direct our judgments, in things that ſeeme moſt abſtruſe, or doubtfull (in which yet

yet they make themselves Gods; for none but God can fully cleare (much lesse force) my Judgement:) But they scruple not, point blanke to contradict our Reason, and force our consciences, in things extremely manifest; as in Bowings, and many other things, which one as blind as he that so much commended *Rhombus*, may see to be *unlawfull*.

CHAP. VII.

WE have seene the *Antecedents*, *Concomitants*, or *Ingredients*, to Our Bishops Office. Let us a little view some of the *Consequents*, that result from his Office.

We shall consider but Two, or rather One with Two Heads, (like himselfe,) at least looking two wayes; His *Relations* both *upward* and *downward*.

First, *Upward*. *Nescio quo fato*, Our Bishops have still depended on anothers Beck. In the time of Popery, they were wholly moulded to the Popes Will; which oft produced such wilfull and stubborne deportment (both towards their Soveraigne and equals) that wise men of those times began to perceive how insufferable such forraine dependance would still be in any free State.

Winchester was not the first, though One, that in *Edwards the first* Time, professed such universal Obedience to his Creator the Pope, that he quickly learned to refuse (that I may not say, disdaine) to call the King his *Lord*. And his Treasons against the Kings Person, made all men see how easie it was, and still would be, to reduce such Principles into Practice.

Edward the third summoned a Parliament to enable himselfe for the warres he designed: But the *Arch-Bishop Stratford* (fearing it might injure the Popes Title if hee might not be permitted there *to erect his Crosse*) refused to

come, detained his Biſhops, and prided himſelfe in hindering his Soveraignes deſigne.

Norwich handled the *ſecond Richard* with the ſame pride and Inſolence; Levying Souldiers at the charge of the Kings Subjects to fight the Popes Battles.

We have not forgotten *Becket*, and divers other of his temper, but reſerve them to another place.

Under the Reformation; if they have indeed caſt off the *Pope*, (which may be doubted in moſt, but is paſt doubt in ſome) yet they have ever beene at their command, by whoſe favour they ſtand, though (with that unhappy bird) they deſigne the Death of Thoſe that give them Life.

This Dependance appeares in a threefold Gradation.

1 The *Calling* (of the Biſhops now in diſpute) being onely *Jure Humano*, they muſt therefore comply, not only to fixe their *Perſons*, but their *Callings*.

2 When they are inveſted in their Sees, the ſmile or frowne of the Court, addeth or detracteth much from their ſplendor, comfort, and emolument.

3 Their further advancement, either to a better Biſhopricke, or Archbiſhopricke, wholly depends on the Princes Will.

Naturaliſts obſerve, there is not ſo much appearance of change in many degrees of Entitie, acquired by a *ſecond* motion; as in one degree, at the firſt ſtep from *Non Ens*, to *Entitie*. But Moraliſts find that one little ſtep of new preferment makes more impreſſion upon low ſpirits, than their firſt Creation out of Nothing. Both are well reconciled in our Biſhops Riſing. For what can ſo ſudden unexpected advancement (from Nothing to ſuch an Height of Beeing) ſeeme but a new Creation? ſo that hence ſuch a dependance muſt needs reſult, as is that Relation which Nature fixeth in the Creature to his Creator.

Courteſies and *Hopes* are the moſt oylie *Bribes*, and Bribes blind the eyes of the moſt wiſe. With what nature ſoever

soever *Obligations* meet, they have an irresistible force. If they descend so low as men of base spirits, They there get a species of *Profitable*; and so become like Lime-twigs to Little Birds. It was doubtlesse most feelingly spoken by the *Slave* in *Plautus*, *Esculenta Vincula sunt firmissima.*

If they meete with men of high rais'd, Generous, Noble thoughts; they yet worke much more, (though out of a more ingenuous Principle) while a true Noble spirit cannot breath under the least shadow of Ingratitude: having first learned that old Proverb, *Ingratum si dixeris.*——

How hardly then a Bishops Conscience, Judgement, Reason, or Will, can bee *his owne*; under not onely so many *Obligations*, (for the greatest engagement past) but Hopes also for new favours to come, (either in higher advancement, or at least in continuance of His smiles, whose first frownes may quickly reduce Them to their first principles of Nothing) I leave it to wise men to judge.

To whom also I humbly propound, (as worthy mature Consideration) how fit these Spirituall Lords may be to sit as Law-makers in That Highest Court, by whose fundamentall Orders (as also by the Law of nature) None ought to have Vote, but *Free men.*

And how can They possibly be deemed Free, that wholly depend on anothers Thought, (for I neede not say, Beck, Smile, or Frowne) not onely for their first Creation, but continuall Preservation in This State, and power of giving Vote in that Court?

But They say, This may be also objected against other Lords, Created by his Majesties favour; Especially Officers of Court, which yet are not Excluded from Votes in Parliament.

I answer first, *Incommodum non solvit argumentum.*

Againe, If the Case were alike in all These (which I yeeld not) Because we are under One (perhaps invinci-

ble Difficulty) muſt we needs runne and plunge our ſelves into another? Or being once in, may we not get out if we can?

But Thirdly, There is a Vaſt Difference betweene Thoſe who cannot but ſtill be affected with Noble, generous, and moſt vertuous deportment; (being ſtill to live in their Names, Honours, Poſterity) and Thoſe, who in Their height, are but as *Meteors*, that muſt quickly blaze out, vaniſh, fall, and be no more. Betweene Thoſe whoſe Birth and Breeding hath filled their veines with Heroick noble blood; and Thoſe that are ſo much diſadvantaged both by their *Birth* and *Breeding*: though Their *Birth* is nothing ſo Ignoble as their *Education*; Compared with that Breeding a true *States-man* ſhould have.

For, will any wiſe man living thinke them fit to give Counſell in Princes Cloſets; to make Lawes in Parliament; and ſit Judges in the Higheſt Tribunals of Civill Juſtice; that all their life time, (before the *Conge d'eſlire* diverted their thoughts) were wholly taken up in turning (rather then reading) *Aquinas* and *Scotus*, with ſome other ſchoole Triflers, before they came to ſome Church Benefice; where ever ſince they have ſpent all their time (that might be ſpared from Tything) in Liturgies, or Canons; Except ſome new ſcruple with ſome of their Neighbours, have cald them to peruſe ſome Author *de Decimis?*

If you view their Civill Converſe, they have practiſed little, but to wrangle downe a Sophiſter, or to delude a Proctor, in the *Vniverſity*; to ſay Grace to a Gentleman, or acquaint themſelves with a *Reading-Pne*, in the *Countrey*. In Caſes of Conſcience, they have ſtudied little, but how, with moſt *compendium*, to digeſt the Oath of Direct and Indirect, in point of *Simony*; and to ſwallow the Vow of thrice *Nolo Epiſcopari*, when God and their owne Conſciences well know, many of them are not ſo ſolicitous for Heaven, as for a Biſhopricke. And are Theſe men fit, not onely to rule the whole Church;

Church; to Ordaine, Censure, Suspend, Deprive, Excommunicate, *ad placitum*; to governe our Consciences, by Articles, Canons, Oathes, (and what else a Lawlesse *Convocation* may invent;) but also to direct and advice (I might say more) in the Privie Juncto's; to sit at the Helme, to dictate Lawes; *& tantum non* to sway the Scepter; which if they forbeare to touch, It is but as *Mercury* once spared *Jupiters* thunder-bolts, which he dirst not steale, lest they should roare too loud, or at least burne his fingers.

In the last place my Answer shall be thus. Though the Birth, Blood, Thoughts, Breeding, and all, of a Bishop were as noble as any One, or all the *Peeres*; (which none dare say) Yet are not, cannot, Bishops be possibly so *free*, (and so, not so fit, to sit and Vote in Parliament) as other Lords, and members of that Great Body.

For First, They that have large Estates by Inheritance, and to continue their Names and Families to the same Inheritance, are in all reason probable with more impartiall freedome to provide for the Good of the Common-wealth in generall; than those that having little or no Estate of their owne (at least, to leave to posterity) are not like much to looke after the Weale-publike, or Good of posterity; but rather will seeke to humour the present times, (being truly *Filii unius Horæ*) especially to insinuate themselves into more and more favour with their Creator, and Preserver, on whose smile wholly depends more than their *Bene Esse*.

My Judgement in This is much confirmed by the observation of a truly Noble Gentleman, and most-highly-well-deserving States-man, (R. Ea. of E.) who said, *he had now served thirty yeares in Parliament, and in all that time never knew but Two or Three Bishops stand for the Common-wealth.*

Againe, though all the Brunches of *Nobility* first sprouted out from the Roote of *Royalty*; (Honours being

being in all Good States, Appendices to Majeſty, and wholly diſpoſed by the Royall hand;) Yet Eſtates and Revenues did not; which are the Parliaments and Supporters of Noble Honours. And Theſe alſo in Biſhops, depend on the Princes Will.

Yea, Our Honours and Baronies, though firſt they were granted by the King; yet now being ſo inveſted in Our blood, and become Hereditary, They cannot be revoked. In This therefore we are *Freer* then any Biſhop, whoſe Baronies are onely annexed to their Office, and not inveſted in them by blood.

We have ſeene our Biſhops Relation upward; Let us now view it looking downe to his owne Family, Creatures, and Dependencies. We ſhall ſee all theſe *Conſequents*, as unſutable to *State policie*, as were the *Ingredients*, and *Antecedents* to his Office.

A Biſhops Title and Place is High and Splendid, but his Eſtate (for the moſt part) Meane and Low: at leaſt That which may be left as Inheritance to poſterity.

Now to what unworthineſſe will not Ambition and Avarice carry them? When they looke on themſelves as *Peeres* and *Grandees* of the Kingdome, and againe reflect on their Wives and Children, as thoſe which (after Their Deceaſe) muſt ſoone bee reduced from ſuch an height (like falling Starres) into their firſt principles; Muſt not This be a Great Temptation, by any meanes, right or wrong, to ſeeke the private inrichment of themſelves, and Families, even much before the publike Good of the Common-wealth; which is never more injur'd, then when it is made to ſtoope and vaile to the boundleſſe Ambition of ſome private, low, baſe, ſordid ſpirit?

Or ſuppoſe, by penurious Living they may in many yeares gleane up a meane Eſtate to leave to their Houſe, to preſerve their name: how miſerable and ſordid muſt be their deportment? how baſe their Houſe-keeping? how Little their Hoſpitality? Which yet not onely by Scripture,

Scripture, but Reason, seemes much (if not most) to be required of the Clergy. Such a Bishop must be as much given to Hospitality, as Blameleſſe in other particulars. But alas, how can Ours be ſo? Except They can bee content to live without any Retinue of Attendance; or bee Curſt by Poſterity, brought up perhaps as Lords, but left as Beggers.

Except then it might be with our Biſhops, or Biſhops Children, as once it was with that *Roman Dictator*, who being brought from the Plough, was content againe to returne to the Plough, (after he had with all humility, fidelity, and ſucceſſe, ſerved the Common-wealth in the Higheſt Office That State at that time did afford) I cannot ſee why They ſhould ſo ambitiouſly deſire a Lordly Prelacie; which they can neither leave to poſterity; nor carry downe to the Grave; nor yet are ſure to keepe all the time they live: for of all Riches, Thoſe of a Biſhop, may ſooneſt fly away.

If therefore Our Prelates would ſeriouſly reflect on their owne Peace, Credit, and Eſteeme; Or the Good of their Family and Poſterity; (though they would deſpiſe the Church, and trample on the State, with the Weale, peace, and flouriſhing proſperity thereof) ſure they would leave the Common-wealth to States-men; and thinke it honour more then enough to ſerve the Church, and waite on Gods Altar: I meane That Holy Table, which may be ſerved by Them that attend the Word and Sacraments; though they muſt not neglect This, and ſerve any Other *Tables*.

But *Venales Animæ* will doe any thing to Riſe. Yet I hope Our Biſhops doe not, at leaſt Will not doe ſo any more. If ſo, Let them know the *Wheele* of *providence* can runne as faſt backward as ever it did forward. In its deſcent, they may perhaps ſadly reflect on a ſerious dying ſpeech of one of themſelves; *Had I ſerved my God, as I have ſerved my Prince; I ſhould not have beene ſo deſerted now.* Though I muſt confeſſe I doubt they have

well ſerved neither *God*, nor the *King*. But this ſhall bee diſcuſs'd more anon.

CHAP. VIII.

WE have ſeene how much our Biſhop makes *againſt State Policie*; Let us now ſee what hee doth, or can doe, *For* the *State*; For, Both parts muſt be heard.

It hath ſtill beene the practiſe of Theſe men to buzze into Princes Eares, that They ſtrike at *Monarchy*, that are diſpleaſed with ſuch *Epiſcopacie*: Like one of the old Queen's Jeſters, that would box and pinch any that ſtood neere him: and if they return'd the like, he would ſtep before the *Queene*, and cry, *Madame here comes a Traytor to ſtrike at your Majeſty.*

I know it is one of their firſt Canonicall principles, *No Biſhop, No King.* On this Axletree the whole body of Popery is wheeled about. A ſpecious ſhew indeede, and One of their Maſter-peeces of Policie; to acquaint and perſwade Kings, of what uſe they are to Them:

Sed Timeo Danaos, & Dona ferentes.

It is but a Trojan Horſe. *Mors eſt in Olla.* While they ſeeme to pleaſe *Kings*, they weaken Crownes.

Powers are *Gods Ordinances*; and ſet over us for Our Good: And *Kingdomes* certainely have more for them in holy writ than any other Government: Shall Royall Crownes then come and ſtoope to a *Miter?*

La France ne tombe pas en Keneville. With Them a Woman muſt not beare the Crowne, and ſhall the Scepter, with us, bow to the Croſiers Staffe? Let it not bee ſpoken in *Aſhkelon*, nor publiſhed in the ſtreets of *Gath*. Hath Chriſtianity abated the Glory or power of the Diadem? Biſhops would, but Chriſt will not.

In ſhort, What is the ſenſe of this Maxime? What

can

can it be other than This, that the *Strength*, nay the *Being* of a *King*, depends wholly upon a Bishop?

Prodigious State-Blasphemie! Kings have beene when Bishops were not, and shall be yet much more Glorious, when such Bishops shall be no more. Which shall still be my desire for all Kings; but especially for *Ours*, whose Good and Gracious Government, I shall pray, may yet endure long, and long amongst us.

It is much rather true, *If any such Bishop, no King*; as I shall make good in my subsequent discourse. Otherwise, (had These beene onely *Metaphysicall Notions*, or *Mathematicall speculations*) I should not have beene troubled more with a square Cap on a Bishops Head, than I am with a Circle squared in a Mathematicall braine.

It is true, their Grand Master the *Pope*, seemed very officious in setting up the German Franck Emperour, (the Image of the old beast,) But it was not long before he shew'd his Ends. Turne your Eye but a little about, and you shall see an Emperour stand barefoote at his Gate: Here One kneeles to kisse That foote that spurneth off His Crowne: There one holds the Stirrup, while that Proud Bishop steps up into the saddle.

And have not our Bishops the same Designes with their Holy Father? Even to free themselves from all Power, and so to bring all things under their owne Power?

What meaneth This Maxime of Episcopacie, that a Clergie man cannot fall under the Execution of a Civill Magistrate, Except they first degrade him; which they may refuse to doe as long as they please? Is not This to Exempt themselves from all Civill Jurisdiction?

What is the sense of This, that for breach of Their (Church) Injunctions, they may *Excommunicate* people, Ministers, Lords, *Kings* themselves, whom they please; But shortly This, to reduce all men, (Even Princes as well as others) to plenary Obedience to themselves? And

when Once They have paſſed that ſentence on their Soveraigne, at their owne fancie, I doubt not but ſome of Them would be ready to receive the Crowne from their kneeling Prince, (as of old) If any King would againe ſo farre forget himſelfe, and lay his Glory in the duſt to be trampled on by ſuch proud inſulting Prelates. Which God forbid.

Their Inſolent Words and Actions, vented lately againſt the Crowne, are very ſutable to theſe *Principles*.

Some of themſelves, in open Court of Judicature, have dirſt to affirme, *They were beholding to none, but Chriſt, for the place they held.*

Others of Them (and Their Creatures) have ſaid They are under no Law of man.

Some have preached point blanck, that Their ſtanding did not at all depend on the Crowne.

Others have flatly denied the King to be Head and Governour in Eccleſiaſticall Cauſes, over all perſons: though they cannot but know that This Title was given mainly, to Exclude any other Earthly Head, as it is Interpreted by Order of Parliament.

All of them Erect Epiſcopall Courts, ſend out Summons, Exerciſe Juriſdiction, Sentence, Fine, Impriſon, doe what they liſt, in their Owne name. Though All the Biſhops put together (& *Vis unita eſt fortior*) dare not to do ſo; (for, the High Inquiſition had a Commiſſion under the Broad Seale) and yet Every particular Biſhop Exerciſeth Juriſdiction under their owne ſeale, by their owne power, in their owne name; without any Commiſſion, directly againſt Statute, by which they all incurre a *Præmunire*.

Indeed they have learnt to faune upon Princes, and would make them beleeve all This is for their Honour, and Advantage; yet they are but Impoſtors; This is but to ſtroake the Horſe (as the Proverb is) till they are well up in the Saddle: for, at That they aime, and thither

ther would they come; which God forbid.

I could heartily wish, the Kings of the Earth would be pleased to read Master *Broughtons* Epistle in his Refining the *Roman Fox.* Or *Niobol. de Clemengiis*, in his Excellent peece *de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu.* Or that Noble Learned Lords incomparable *Mysterium Iniquitatis*; presented to Our Late Learned Soveraigne King *James*; though in some late Prints It hath beene refined by an English-Romish *Index Expurgatorius*, yet It will still (with the other) represent the sleights of this kinde of Episcopacie, in such lively Colours, that I beleeve no Prince would trust them againe.

I neede not goe farre to seeke instances that may fully represent how much Our Bishops have in all ages promoted the Weale, Peace, and Honour of This Kingdome and Cowne: For their Treasons against the State and King, want not a Register. I could briefely present you with a true Emblem of Episcopacie *ab ovo ad malum*; and yet not goe higher than the Conquerour.

Lanfranck would have conquered the *Conquerour*: and by gentle insinuations have perswaded him to submit his Scepter to the Triple Miter: but, *Etiamsi suasit, non persuasit.*

Art could not prevaile, and therefore *Anselm* went more rudely to worke; Though *Rufus* forbad him, yet with many thankes and much honour from the Pope, he went to *Rome* for his Pall. After he had oftentimes bearded the King in many matters, he succeeded so well, that he attempts the same against the First *Henry*: and left not till he had caused the Scepter to bow, and the Crowne to totter.

In *Stephens* time, Two Great Prelates dispute about Precedencie, and at last passing by the King, they call the Pope to be Moderator.

Beckets heights are well knowne, and scarce parallel'd in amy Story: Onely as *Henry the second* (that Great Prince) did suffer sore stripes here; so did the *Duke* of *Tholouse*

Tholouſe in *France*, for joyning with the *Albigenſes*. That was done by a Pope, This by a Biſhop.

King *John* fell (with his whole Kingdome) under an *Interdict*, for ſome quarrell betwixt himſelfe and Two or Three Prelates: nor could he buy or begge his peace but on his knees, reſigning his Crowne to proud *Pandulph*.

In *Edward* the ſeconds time *Gaveſton* was much abetted by *Coventry*, in this a Traitor to his Countrey.

What prankes *Wincheſter* plaid with *Edward* the *Firſt*, *Stratford* with *Edward* the *Third*, and with the ſecond *Richard*, *Norwich*, was touch'd before.

Henry the fourth was ill handled by *Yorke*, that waged warre with him: at the ſame time *Arundell* vow'd he would not leave a ſlip of that *Religion* which then he ſaw Dawning in *England*.

In *Henry the ſixts* time, *Yorke* Quarrell with *Wincheſter*, loſt all that *England* had gained from *France*: at laſt *Yorke* ſides with *Warwick* againſt the *King*.

Edward the fourth had little cauſe to pardon the new Arch-Biſhop.

Ely ended better then he began, but it was *per accidens*; for firſt he perſwaded *Buckingham* to claime the Crowne, but He refuſing (at leaſt not daring to ſtirre for himſelfe) ſets him on *Richmond*, the true Heire.

But you will ſay, Theſe were all *Papiſts*, and lived in the dark times of *Popery*.

True, and were not Their Soveraignes ſuch alſo? were not Kings and Biſhops of one Religion then? Are they more now? hath a Proteſtant Prince now more reaſon to truſt a Proteſtant Prelate, than a Popiſh King a Popiſh Biſhop? Let all the world judge. Seeing in Thoſe times it was no difference in Religion, But Malignance againſt Civill Government, that produced Thoſe Commotions, in Thoſe Biſhops.

But ſince the Pope, and Popiſh Religion is confeſſed to be the Cauſe of all thoſe Treaſons and Rebellions,

what

what if I prove Prelacie and Popery to be the ſame *in re*, and onely to differ in name? This we ſhall Eſſay anon. In the meane time It is worth conſidering whether Our Prelates be not more like to ſide with the Pope againſt a *Proteſtant*, then *Papiſt* Prince.

I will over-looke the darke times of *Popery*; Let us beginne with the *Reformation*, (which yet could hardly have entrance, for that ſtrong Oppoſition the Prelates ſtill made) Alas what Commotions have they ſtill raiſed in *Scotland*, ever ſince the Reformation? Wee have *felt*, what Our Parents onely *ſaw*. They Eate (at leaſt ſuffered) a *ſoure grape*, and Our Teeth were almoſt all ſet on edge. But bleſſed be God that hath delivered That Church and ſtate from Tyrannicall Prelates; and will ere long deliver us alſo.

They did the ſame in *Denmarke*, till One of their Kings did perſwade the people to Chooſe another Church Government: After he had in publke read a *Charge* for three houres long, containing Their Treaſons, and Rebellions even ſince the Time that the Pope was caſt out of that Countrey.

When I call to minde their Cariage and miſcariage here in *England*, I muſt beginne with that of the Poet,

Infandum Regina jubes renovare dolorem.

Our firſt Reformation was much oppoſed by Biſhops. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and ſome others were no Changelings. Yea we ſhall finde ſome *Good* men were *Bad* Biſhops; and the *Evill* were intolerable. *Ridley* was too fierce in maintenance of *Ceremonies*. *Cranmer* and *Ridley* both were for allowing Maſſe to the Lady *Mary*: but That Admirable young Prince, was even in his Infancie, with King *David*, wiſer then his Teachers; and could weepe, though not yeeld to Their perſwaſions.

What Our Biſhops did in Queene *Maries* dayes (Bloody Times!) we all know; ſure it was an unhappy Proverb that was then learnt, *The Biſhops ſweate hath trodden here*. What they *intended* under the Old Queene;

Eſſayed

Eſſayed in King *James* his Reigne; and had well nigh *performed* under Our Gracious King *Charles*, to the Ruine of the Crowne, We now beginne to know: If at leaſt *Knowledge* may properly be ſaid to be wrought by *Senſe*; for, If ſo, our Feeling was enough to Teach us. Yet what wanted in This, may be ſupplied by the Daily complaints we are forced to heare not onely from *England*, but *Ireland* alſo; where yet perhaps they have more parts to act then One. But *he that ſitteth in Heaven laugheth at them, the moſt High hath them in deriſion.*

CHAP. IX.

I Have ſcarce done with that Grand Principle of Epiſcopall policie, *No Biſhop, No King.* Yet I muſt now divert you a little from it, or at leaſt lay it aſide awhile, till I come in againe at due place: which perhaps may be in This next diſpute.

I am now come to the moſt moderate of Epiſcopall men. For even Theſe affirme that *The abſolute Beſt Church Government, under a Monarchy*, is *Monarchicall.*

By the Way I muſt deſire it may againe be remembred that hitherto I have contended onely with our *Lordly Civill Epiſcopacie*, (properly called *Prelacie*) I have not yet diſputed Eccleſiaſticall Epiſcopacie in generall, or the Prelacie of One Miniſter before another (though I may touch That alſo before I conclude:) ſo that I am not bound to anſwer this Objection; which ſure cannot mean that the Beſt Church Government under *Monarchy*, is *Tyrannicall*, (as indeed ſuch Lordly Prelacie is even in their owne Judgements which are moderate) but ſimply *Monarchicall, ſcilicet in Eccleſiaſticis*: againſt which I have not yet diſputed; though I know This was One of the maine Foundations on which That Deſtroyer,

That

That man of sinne beganne first to build.

But I am content to follow them Here also. Yet I must first sift out their meaning, lest they deceive mee with words. Doe they meane that *All other* Church Governments are destructive to *Monarchy*? or do they mean, *Monarchy* is destructive to All other Church Governments, but *Monarchicall*?

The first sence is even the same with the former Axiome we discuss'd, *No Bishop, no King*; except perhaps they grant, that every *Monarch* is a *King*, but every *King* is not an absolute *Monarch*.

But take *Monarchy* in what sense you please: why cannot it stand with any kind of Church Government? doth the supreme Civill power receive any *essentiall* part of it from *Church Monarchy*? Is not Monarchy compleat even there where is no Church?

I am by no meanes of Their judgements who say, *None that are without the pale of the Church have right to any Thing here below*. A Tenet almost necessary to those that use to excommunicate Princes *ad placitum*, and then stirre up forraine Enemies, or Subjects themselves, to dispossesse such Princes; but to other States of very dangerous consequence.

I clearly conceive an Heathen Emperour may be as lawfull a *Monarch*, as any Christian Prince; And I doubt not, but His Subjects owe as exact obedience to Him, (if his Civill Title be just) as we justly pay to our Kings and Governours.

To say then that *Monarchy* cannot stand without Monarchicall Discipline in the Church, is to weaken (if not to breake) the nerves and ligaments of supreme power: nay to say that such a government will best suit with *Monarchy*, is to vaile the lustre and Majesty of monarchy, which like an healthfull stomach, can easily assimulate all things to it selfe, but is not changed by any.

If they would but speake their owne Thoughts, They would turne the Proposition thus, *Church-Monarchy can-*

not ſtand without Civill. Here the *Myſtery* is unmasked. It is true, *This Diſcipline* cannot ſtand, but where *Princes* will uphold it. For That which hath no Footing in *Scripture*, muſt leane upon *Humane Right*; and thus it diſcovereth its owne weakneſſe. *Divine Inſtitution* is able to bottome it ſelfe upon it ſelfe; but *Humane* is like the weake *Vine* or *Hop*, which without a pole, muſt creepe, and ſo rot, upon the earth. Yea ſome inventions of Men (ſpecially in matters of Religion) are like the weake Fruitleſſe *Ivy*, that muſt be propt up by ſome *Elme*, or mighty *Oake*, and yet moſt unnaturally deſtroyeth That prop which holdeth it up. And of This kind is That *Humane* (or rather Demonicall) *Epiſcopacie* of which we have treated all this time.

Our Biſhops foreſeeing This, (for They are wiſe in their generation,) thought beſt to invert the propoſition, and inſtead of this, that *Church Monarchy cannot ſtand without Civill*; They affirme *Civill Monarchy* cannot ſtand without That of the *Church*. Thus they delude Silly people.

But to come a little neerer to their Beſt meaning, (Who ſtand ſo much for *Church Monarchy*) I would gladly be ſhewed by Reaſon, what there is in Church government, why it may not derive it ſelfe into ſeverall Corporations, where either more or fewer may beare the ſway; ſtill ſubſcribing to thoſe things which are left by Chriſt to the Civill government, or Monarchicall power. We ſee hundreds of Corporations are thus managed. And what there is *in formali ratione* of Church government (eſſentiall to Church government, that will not endure This, *mihi non liquet*; Truly I do not yet know, I cannot yet imagine.

Wee ſee ever ſince the reformation of *Luther* and *Calvin*, the Churches of Chriſt have had another diſcipline than ours; under Elective and Succeſſive, under Prote-

ſtant

ſtant and Catholique Princes, as will appeare clearely in *Poland*, *Denmarke*, in *Scotland*, and the *Palatinate*, in *France*, and *Germany*. I do from my heart agree that *Civill* Governours are *Cuſtodes utriuſque Tabulæ*: but what the Civill Magiſtrate hath to doe in Church matters, till the Church hath done her utmoſt, I could yet never learne.

The government of Chriſt is ſpirituall; and Hee will have his worke wrought in a ſweete way; by the power of the Spirit, not by force.

If I erre in This, I ſhall upon better reaſon recant; In the interim, hoping that the clearneſſe of my thoughts ſhal with the candid Reader receive gentle interpretation, I ſhall freely declare my opinion in This point.

Chriſt (as I ſhall more fully proye hereafter) hath cleerly unfolded to us the Two main things of Church affaires:

1 The Doctrine.

2 The Diſcipline of his Church.

Who will come in this caſe to adde or diminiſh any thing?

I appeale to any Ingenuous Reader, of what Religion ſoever he be (yea of what ſect in any Religion) Whether any power ought to force a Church in matter of *Doctrine*.

I conceive, what *is* True Doctrine the Scripture muſt judge, and none but the Scripture: but what a Church will take for True Doctrine, lyes only in That Church.

Will *Rome* admit us to expound to them this place, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*? ſhall wee admit *Rome's* expoſition? Will *either* of us admit force?

There is certainly but one Truth: but what ſhall be taken by the Church for Truth, the Church muſt judge.

If you deſcend to Diſcipline, will not the Caſe ſtand be the ſame?

In Diſcipline conſider three things.

1 Admiſſion of members.

2 Excommunication.

3 Officers to execute theſe, and other Ordinances.

Whether you will Baptize children, and ſo by adminiſtring to them the Sacrament of Initiation, admit them members of the Church?

Whether you will admit all for Church members that barely profeſſe, though they be open drunkards, and very ignorant perſons?

Whether you will have *Paſtors*, *Teachers*, and *Elders*, as your ſuperiours in this worke, or *Biſhops*, *Archbiſhops*, *Primates*, &c. who ſhall judge but the Church?

So long as the *Church*, in her *Church* Tenets, intermedleth not with *State* matters under the notion of Religion, I ſuppoſe the *Civill* power is not to interpoſe.

It is moſt true, if the *Church* will broach (with the *Anabaptiſts*) that they will have no *Governours*, nor Government: This is a point not of Divinity, but Policie; and here the Scepter muſt ſet a rule. or with the *Adamites* (if there be any ſuch) allow Communion of wives: This takes away property, The ſword muſt divide this quarrell. or with the Papiſts, that it is lawfull to *kill Kings*: that faith is not to be kept with *Heritiques*: I conceive in all theſe, (and caſes of the like nature) the deciſion lyeth in the *Magiſtrate*; for Theſe tenets overthrow either Civill Government, or civill converſe; The Church muſt not goe out of her bounds.

But if the Queſtion be, how you will expound ſuch a Scripture: what Geſture you will uſe in ſuch an ordinance: what man is fit to be excommunicated: what deſerveth excommunication: what is Idolatry: what is wil-worſhip: what ſuperſtition: what is the puniſhment of thoſe crimes: who ſhall judge but the Church?

The Prince hath granted to ſuch a Body by Charter, ſuch priviledges, ſuch offices, who can interpoſe but the power inſtituting? Chriſt hath given us a platforme of Church government, with the offices, and officers; who may here intermedle, but Chriſt himſelfe?

It is moſt true when the Church findeth any refractary, and thereupon doth excommunicate him, he falls into the

the hands of the Civill Magistrate, if he continue pertinacious, and not before.

When *Parliaments* do consider matters of Religion, they do it to deliver the *Church* from some who would impose upon her; who would take the keyes from her, that by the help of these keyes, they may wrest the *Scepter* out of the hand of *Soveraignty*, which God forbid.

And whilst *Parliaments* labour thus for the *Church*, dealing no further in the affaires of the Church, than by *Scripture* they may, certainly they do well; but if they once exceed their bounds, the issue will be *Confusion* instead of *Reformation*.

Church and *State* government differ as much as the *Sexes*: Yet as there may betweene These be an happy union: (Both keeping their bounds whilst the Husband hath the supremacie;) So may there be between the *Church*, and *State* a sweete harmony. The State having Committed to it the custody of the 10. commandements, and yet the Church preserving to her selfe Her rights.

If the Church swallow up the State, as it is in Popery, & Episcopacy, the issue will be slavish, grosse superstition, and stockish Idolatry. If the State overtop the Church, there will be ignorance and atheisme. But give to *God* that which is Gods, and to *Cesar* that which is *Cesars*: and both Church and State will fare the better.

Thus under favour, both by reason and president it is cleere, that any *Church policie* besides *Episcopacie*, (though onely one by right ought) may stand with *Monarchy*.

CHAP. X.

When I say, *Any Church Government may stand with Monarchy*, or other *State Policie*, I desire to be understood of *any Church Government well regulated*: Which, as I cannot conceive of our *Episcopacie*, so I must againe

againe publiquely protest, that I verily beleeve This kind of *Episcopacy* is destructive, not onely to Good Monarchy, but all other State Policie whatsoever.

I meane not now to runne over, so much as the Heads of my former discourse: Every particle of which is to represent how uncongruous, and incompatible to True policie of State, Our Bishops Place, Calling, and Office, is, as now it stands establisht in this Kingdome.

If any man shall yet dissent from mee in this Cause, I shall now onely intreat him to view one place of Scripture, which yet perhaps at first glance may seeme to make but little for my purpose: but it is an old Maxime among Interpreters, *Non est horendum in Cortice.* Let us therefore a little examine the Text, and if I be not in the Right, I will gladly learne of any that can better informe me.

The Place I meane, is that which of old in the Primitive Church was wont to be more perused, and examined, than I thinke it is now, or hath beene of late: and I cannot much wonder, sith I see all men view the *Sea*, and well consider it at distance, from the top of a Cliffe or Rocke; but when they are once fallen into it, they shut their eyes, winke, and care so see as little as may be of it, while they have so much round about them.

I must not detaine you too long without, lest you think my Porch longer and bigger than my House. It is That of the Apostle to the *Thessalonians*, 2. Epist. 2. Chap. 3. and 4. *Verses*, specially those words; *Who opposeth, and exalteth himselfe above all that is called God, or is worshipped.*

For the understanding of this place, we must premise This, That it must not be taken as spoken of *One single person*: but a *Compages* of *many*, either existing together, or else succeeding one another; yet agreeing together in This Great Apostasie, the maine thing here spoken of. And in This I have but few Adversaries: None I thinke, but some few of the Romish faction, that maintaine the grand Deceiver, False Prophet, or Apostate (for so I rather call him, than Antichrist, though I doubt not also

but

but he is most truly Antichrist *in Re*) shall come only in the end of the world, and endure but three yeares and an halfe: which yet begins to sound but ill among the Romanists themselves.

In the next place I affirme, This *Man* of *Sinne* (for so I must stile him) is not of the *Laity*, over whom (even over their Princes and Gods) he exalteth himselfe; but of the *Clergy*, For he sitteth in the *Temple of God*.

Being come so farre (without any Reall opposition) I now demand, Who This *Man* (*Compages* or *Systeme* of *Men*) is, or can be? The *Pope*, I suppose will be answered by most of our Church: And I yeeld it so; beleeving Him to be principally intended here. But if I can prove that *Popery* properly taken, is the same *in Re*, with *Our Episcopacy*; or at least that *Their* is but a Piece and Part of That *Mystery* of *Iniquity*; then I hope it will be granted, that such *Episcopacy* is also here intended: & *per consequens*, that such *Episcopacy* is altogether against True Policie of *State*: because it opposeth and exalteth it selfe above All that is called God, &c.

This therefore is now my Taske, to prove that *Our Episcopacy*, is the same Really with *Popery* taken *Properly*.

Let us first then see what *Popery properly* may signifie: for, for ought I yet see, the World is scarce agreed in this particular. I cannot conceive that All Errours or Heresies held by some (nay All) *Papists*, may in proper speaking be called *Popery*. Most (I hope All) of the Papists *agree* with us in many Truths, and All is not *Heresie* in which they *Differ*: and yet All *Heresie* in Them, not proper *Popery*. No, not every Error or Heresie in the *Pope* himselfe can *proprie loquendo* be said to be *Popery*. There are many Things the Papists hold in common with many, if I may not say, All *Heretickes*: yet none ever properly called All *Heretickes* by the compendious Name of *Papists*. Many points are not yet so fully determined among themselves,

againe publiquely proteſt, that I verily beleeve This kind of *Epiſcopacy* is deſtructive, not onely to Good Monarchy, but all other State Policie whatſoever.

I meane not now to runne over, ſo much as the Heads of my former diſcourſe: Every particle of which is to repreſent how uncongruous, and incompatible to True policie of State, Our Biſhops Place, Calling, and Office, is, as now it ſtands eſtabliſht in this Kingdome.

If any man ſhall yet diſſent from mee in this Cauſe, I ſhall now onely intreat him to view one place of Scripture, which yet perhaps at firſt glance may ſeeme to make but little for my purpoſe: but it is an old Maxime among Interpreters, *Non eſt hærendum in Cortice.* Let us therefore a little examine the Text, and if I be not in the Right, I will gladly learne of any that can better informe me.

The Place I meane, is that which of old in the Primitive Church was wont to be more peruſed, and examined, than I thinke it is now, or hath beene of late: and I cannot much wonder, ſith I ſee all men view the *Sea*, and well conſider it at diſtance, from the top of a Cliffe or Rocke; but when they are once fallen into it, they ſhut their eyes, winke, and care to ſee as little as may be of it, while they have ſo much round about them.

I muſt not detaine you too long without, leſt you think my Porch longer and bigger than my Houſe. It is That of the Apoſtle to the *Theſſalonians* 2. *Epiſt.* 2. *Chap.* 3. and 4. *Verſes*, ſpecially thoſe words; *Who oppoſeth, and exalteth himſelfe above all that is called God, or is worſhipped.*

For the underſtanding of this place, we muſt premiſe This, That it muſt not be taken as ſpoken of *One ſingle perſon*: but a *Compages* of *many*, either exiſting together, or elſe ſucceeding one another; yet agreeing together in This Great Apoſtaſie, the maine thing here ſpoken of. And in This I have but few Adverſaries: None I thinke, but ſome few of the Romiſh faction, that maintaine the grand Deceiver, Falſe Prophet, or Apoſtate (for ſo I rather call him, than Antichriſt, though I doubt not alſo

but

but he is most truly Antichrist *in Re*) shall come only in the end of the world, and endure but three yeares and an halfe: which yet begins to sound but ill among the Romanists themselves.

In the next place I affirme, This *Man* of *Sinne* (for so I must stile him) is not of the *Laity*, over whom (even over their Princes and Gods) he exalteth himselfe; but of the *Clergy*, For he sitteth in the *Temple of God*.

Being come so farre (without any Reall opposition) I now demand, Who This *Man* (*Compages* or *Systeme* of *Men*) is, or can be? The *Pope*, I suppose will be answered by most of our Church: And I yeeld it so; beleeving Him to be principally intended here. But if I can prove that *Popery* properly taken, is the same *in Re*, with *Our Episcopacy*; or at least that *Their* is but a Piece and Part of That *Mystery* of *Iniquity*; then I hope it will be granted, that such *Episcopacy* is also here intended: & *per consequens*, that such *Episcopacy* is altogether against True Policie of *State*: because it opposeth and exalteth it selfe above All that is called God, &c.

This therefore is now my Taske, to prove that *Our Episcopacy*, is the same Really with *Popery* taken *Properly*.

Let us first then see what *Popery properly* may signifie: for, for ought I yet see, the World is scarce agreed in this particular. I cannot conceive that All Errours or Heresies held by some (nay All) *Papists*, may in proper speaking, be called *Popery*. Most (I hope All) of the Papists *agree* with us in many Truths, and All is not *Heresie* in which they *Differ*: and yet All *Heresie* in Them, not proper *Popery*. No, not every Error or Heresie in the *Pope* himselfe can *propriè loquendo* be said to be *Popery*. There are many Things the Papists hold in common with many, if I may not say, All *Heretickes*: yet none ever properly called All *Heretickes* by the compendious Name of *Papists*. Many points are not yet so fully determined among themselves,

ſelves, but that ſome of them *affirme*, and others *deny* of the ſame ſubject. All of them will not agree about Originall ſinne, Free will, Merit &c. In this laſt (which yet is one of the moſt fundamentall points of controverſie now betweene us) I ſee many of them comming ſo neere the Truth, that one muſt have a quick ſharpe eye to ſee where they come ſhort, for many of them yeeld Our workes do not properly *merit* as Ours, but as *Tincta ſanguine Chriſti*; yea and ſome are not rigid in preſſing the phraſe *Merit*, in its proper ſenſe: ſo that perhaps Their moſt refined opinion in This, may be the more dangerous in the Conſequence, than ſubſtance or formè of it.

Nay, before the Councell of *Trent* (before which yet *Popery* had beene long in the world) moſt of their Tenets were ſo much indetermined, that ſcarce any of them knew what he was to hold and beleeve; yet he was a Papiſt then, and is ſo ſtill, and yet to this Day I thinke there is ſcarce one Doctrinall point in which they all agree.

Wee muſt then conſider what that is which Denominates a *Papiſt*, and may properly be called *Popery*. It muſt ſure be ſomewhat *Eſſentiall* (as I may ſpeake) to that Church, ſo that without This It could not be called a *Popiſh* Church.

That is doubtleſſie ſuch and ſuch *Dependance on the Pope*: This is in the Popes ſubjects truly *Popery*; and this Dependance on Him, is perhaps expreſſed by receiving his *Name* or *Character* in the Apocalyps. In the *Pope* himſelfe, it is not This or That errour, This or That Hereſie, but ſuch an Independance, ſuch a Lordſhip, ſuch a Prelaticall Tyranny, over civill and Church eſtates, that is, κατ' ἐξοχὴν *Popery*. And this is it that is ſo emphatically expreſſed here in This place to the *Theſſalonians*, *He oppoſeth and exalteth himſelfe above all that is called God*, &c. And the exerciſe of This Popiſh Tyranny is lively limn'd out in *Apoc.* 13. *verſ.* 16, & 17. *And he cauſed all, both ſmall and great, rich and poore, free and bond to receive a marke in their right hand, or in their foreheads. And that no man might buy*

or

ſell, ſave he that had the marke, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name.

This Tyrannicall Prelaticall Power and Dominion, which the Pope uſurpeth and excerciſeth (contrary to Gods Word) over Clergy and Laity, Princes and Subjects, in their eſtates and conſciences, is in Him, (as in His Clients, *yeelding* and *ſubmitting to this Popiſh Prelacy*) *True Proper Popery*. And This is the Giving, Imprinting, or forcing of a Name, Character or Number, on the Popes part, as Receiving This on the part of *Papiſts*: though I have not now time, at leaſt not opportunity, to diſcuſſe how much the Popes *Name*, *Character* and *Number* may differ. I doubt not but all are parts of That Prelaticall, uſurped Power which is truly *Popiſh*, and received by *Papiſts*, as Servants and Souldiers of old received their Lord's and Commanders *Teſſera*, or Character in their hands and foreheads. But God alſo hath impreſſed his *Motto* on them all, let them read it and tremble; *Apocal.* 14. 9, 10. *And the third Angel followed them, ſaying with a loud voyce, If any man worſhip the Beaſt and his image, and receive his marke in his forhead, or in his hand, the ſame ſhall drinke of the wine of the wrath of God, which is powred out without mixture into the cup of his indignation, and he ſhall be tormented with fire and brimſtone in the preſence of the holy Angels, and in the preſence of the Lambe.*

God hath beene pleaſed to parcell out *Church* and *Commonwealth* as ſeverall and diſtinct Governments: yet ſo that Princes ſhould be *Cuſtodes utriuſque Tabulæ*, as was ſaid before.

God hath beene pleaſed to make, appoint, and leave the Miniſters of the Goſpel *Brethren*, and hath permitted none of them a Lordly Prelacy above another.

But now the Pope comes, with a wide mouth, and ſwallowes downe at once, all *Civill* and *Eccleſiaſticall* power; Challengeth to himſelfe, not onely the *Keyes*, but the *Sword*; not onely Papall Dominion in *Eccleſiaſticis*, but Regall alſo in *Civilibus*. This Uſurpation of His, is

properly *Popery*; & this robbeth *Chriſt* of his *Regall Office*.

As every ſinne breakes all the Commands, (the whole Law) yet ſome ſinnes do more properly intrench on ſome particular command: ſo alſo is it in all Hereſies and errors. All ſomeway oppoſe the whole Law of Chriſt, and all the three Offices of *Chriſt*: yet ſome more properly One of theſe Offices, ſome another. As the Doctrine of *Merit de Condigno, & Congruo*, encroacheth on Chriſts Prieſtly Office; the *Alcoran* mainly againſt his *Propheticall*. But *Popery* moſt properly ſtrikes at his Kingly Office and Authority. For it is Chriſts Kingly Office to bind *Kings in Chaines, and Princes in Fetters of Iron*, if they reſiſt him. And He that uſurps this Power and Priviledge, labours to unthrone Chriſt, to ſit above him, and ſo properly *oppoſeth and exalteth himſelfe above all that is called God, or is worſhipped. This is the Pope; and this is Popery.* Yea I may adde, This is truly and moſt properly *Antichriſt*; though indeed perhaps not That *Antichriſt* of whom S. *John* ſpeakes in his firſt Epiſtle Chap. 2. 22. and 4. 3. who, it may be, was *Ebion*, or *Cerinthus*, or ſome other: though perhaps alſo Saint *John* might ſpeake that of ſome Lordly Prelacy, which began (though but to dawne, if I may ſo ſpeake of that darke myſtery beginning to ſhew it ſelfe) even in Saint *Johns* daies: for in ſome reſpect wee will not ſtand to yeeld a Biſhops Pedegree might perhaps extend ſo high: for even then Antichriſt was conceiv'd.

However, I doubt not to affirme the *Pope* is now moſt Really, Truly, and properly, The Grand *Antichriſt*. For ſuch is Hee moſt properly, that encroacheth on *Chriſts Regall* Office. This being It which now (of all the three) is moſt proper to him in his *Glory*: and This he hath received as a moſt glorious Reward (if I may ſo ſpeake) for all his ſufferings in his humane Nature: and This I think the Scripture Language (*Eſay* 53. 12. *Pſal.* 110. 7. *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, 10, 11. 1 *Cor.* 15. 27.) His *Prieſtly* worke was for the moſt part accompliſht in his *Death*; His *Propheticall* Office,

fice, as it were reſigned over to his Holy *Spirit*; But his Kingly Office is his owne propriety, (till the end come) and ſo He that oppoſeth This, is moſt truly *Antichriſt*. This is the *Pope*, and this is *Popery*.

Now on the other part if any man pleaſe to ſurvay *Epiſcopacy* with an unpartiall eye, he ſhal find this kind of *Epiſcopacy*, & *Popery* to be all one in *Re*, for they have the ſame *Riſe*, the ſame *Media* of their progreſſe, and the ſame *End*.

The riſe of Popery, was by overthrowing Chriſts ordinances, and ſetting up of his owne. That this may appeare the more diſtinctly, give me leave to ſhew you the Biſhops boldneſſe in the particulars of it.

Chriſts ordinances in the New Teſtament are either concerning *Doctrine*, or *Diſcipline*. I confeſſe the *Pope* hath made great aſſaults upon the doctrinall part; but what he hath done in that kind, he hath done many times by gathering up the regorgements of others, and ſo they are not his owne: or as an *Heretique*, but not as *Pope*, for the reaſons which I have even now mentioned.

But he hath plaid his part mainly in point of Diſcipline: This moſt properly belonging to Chriſts Royall Office, as Doctrine to his Propheticall.

In the Diſcipline there are two things conſiderable,

1 That which concerneth the Officer.

2 That which concerneth the Nature of his office. In the caſe of the Officer, you have his *Acceſſe* to his Office, and his *Execution* of the Office. In the firſt *Election* and *Ordination* are conſiderable.

By Gods rule his *Election* is to be *by the people*; his *Ordination from the people* by the hand of the *Presbytery*. By the rule of *Popery* a Miniſter is *Ordained* by the *Pope*, and his ſubſtitute, and is *elected* by the ſame power and in the ſame way. And as their Schoole darkens (with a miſt of their termes) what they cannot *cleere*: So do Theſe; to cloud their ſwarving from Chriſts rule, They raiſe up new termes, and inſtead of *Election*, have *Preſentation*, *Inſtitution*, & *Induction*. The firſt is done

by the *Patron*, the ſecond by the *Biſhop*; a way which Chriſt never knew. It is ſo well knowne to all men that *Epiſcopacy* traces theſe very paths of *Popes*, that I ſhall not need to ſay more for this part of their Identity.

In the execution of his Office there are Acts of 2. ſorts: ſome wherein he hath a *Joynt* power with other; ſome wherein he is a *ſole Agent*: he is ſole in Church preaching and in adminiſtration of the Sacraments: he is coadjutor to others in Admiſſion of members, in Excommunication.

Under the Papacy the Miniſter or Prieſt hath the power of Preaching, and Adminiſtration according to Gods Law (and this onely with relation to the Biſhop who in his Church ſuperintends:) But in the other hee hath no power at all; it is wholly given up to the *Pope*, and by him committed to the Biſhop. And thus the Pope may truly (while he is *Dominus Dominorum*) ſtile himſelfe *ſervum ſervorum*: for hee impropriates all offices to himſelfe; and in liew of coadjutors given by God to the Miniſter, the Biſhop hath Officers appointed him by the Pope.

The Coadjutors of the Miniſters by the Word, in ſome caſes were the *People*, in ſome caſes the *Elders* and *Deacons*, and ſometimes people, Elders and Deacons: but the Pope in lieu of theſe hath inſtituted another generation of helpers; and leſt that true name ſhould reduce true Officers, he hath given them yet another title, as *Apparitor*, *Surrogate*, *Chancellour*, *Officiall*, *Commiſſaries*, *Deanes*, *Churchwardens*, *Overſeers* of the poore. In all which *Epiſcopacie* and *Popery* have ſo twin-like a frame, that ſeeing one, you ſee both; *Nec Soſia Soſiæ ſimilior, nec ſimiæ ſimia.* And ſo I leave that point, which concernes the *Officer*.

In the Nature of his office it is conſiderable, 1 What the worke of his Office is: Secondly, from what power: and thirdly, in what manner he doth it.

For the firſt, the ſubject matter of his office is Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, Preaching, Admiſſion of members

members, Excommunication. In reckoning theſe, the *Pope* conformeth to Gods Word, and ſo doth *Epiſcopacy*; for if we will erre, we muſt ſometimes goe right, and then we may tranſgreſſe with leſſe ſuſpicion.

But Conſider from what power the Miniſter of the Goſpell Acts. He ought not to borrow his Commiſſion from any but from Chriſt, from Scripture; and he ought to keepe cloſe to That: now the Papacie is wholly ſteared by Traditions, Decretals, Councels, Canons, Colledge of Cardinals, and the Pope in the Chaire, where he cannot erre in matters of Faith. The Pandects of the Civill Law are too too boyſtrous, and of too great extent for any Civilian to comprehend; and yet that body of their learning is boyled up to ſuch a degree, that it runnes over, and no memory is able to attaine it, more than to compaſſe perfection in the learning of the *Chineſes*, where the A. B. C. amounts to 10000 letters. Conſtitutions croſſe one another, and almoſt all fight againſt the Goſpell of Chriſt.

Doth not Epiſcopacie (*Si magna licet componere parvis*) according to its *modicum*, do the ſame? I confeſſe, with them the *Scripture* is the rule: but who muſt expound this Scripture? Synods, Councells, Convocations, Biſhops, Archbiſhops. Some of theſe ſometimes, ſometimes All of them: And though by their owne confeſſion, Theſe bind not mens Conſciences, yet They bind them to obedience: which obedience they doe preciſely Challenge, and when they faile thereof, they doe without the leaſt ſcruple of conſcience, proceede to excommunication, fine, impriſonment, deprivation, and what not? In the meane time it is held a ſinne for a Lay man at all to thinke of theſe ſtudies. The *Prieſts* lips (they ſay) muſt preſerve knowledge: It is a ſad caſe (ſay they) when men with unhallowed hands will touch the *Arke*, and with unſanctified eyes, pry into theſe myſteries. and ſo Theſe men, making the Scripture a Rule in appearance, do in truth Monopolize all to themſelves: This is juſt and flat Popery.

In the laſt place, The *Manner* which God hath preſcribed, is that every thing be done in decencie and in order: with what ſingleneſſe and plainneſſe may be: without any addition of mens inventions. The *Pope* carrieth on his Juriſdiction with pompe and much outward glory; They have cõmiſſions, Injunctions, Charters, Seales, Secretaries, Clarkes, and 1000 other inventions, to grind the face of the poore. *Epiſcopacie* hath its Courts, Summons, Clarkes, Seales, with other Ceremonies of the like nature.

Chriſts rule is that Miniſters of equall ranke, ſhall all have equall power. Apoſtles indeed were above Evangeliſts, and Evangeliſts above Paſtors and Teachers: but one Apoſtle was not above another, nor one Paſtor did not ſuperintend another. The Pope hath Prieſt, Biſhop, Archbiſhop, Primate, Patriarch, Cardinall, Pope. and Epiſcopacie hath Miniſters (now called Prieſts) Deacons, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Primates, &c.

The Scripture commandeth Preaching in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, but with the Pope, and our Biſhops, All preaching is now out of Seaſon, I am ſure out of faſhion in themſelves; and cryed downe in others: for with them Ignorance is the mother of Devotion.

The Scripture alloweth but two Sacraments: the *Pope* addeth five; and our *Biſhops* are ambiguous: *Two onely* (they ſay) are *generally Neceſſary to ſalvation*; which may clearly inimate, that there are *More than Two*; though perhaps not abſolutely *Neceſſary* to Salvation, or though neceſary, yet not *Generally* neceſſary, to all men, in all times, ſtates and conditions whatſoever. and ſo much the Papiſts yeeld of Their five Sacraments, nay of ſixe of their ſeven: For, onely *Baptiſme* (they ſay) is abſolutely and generally neceſſary to ſalvation; the *Euchariſt* even with them, is not Neceſſary to Infants, much leſſe *Matrimony*, *Orders*, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Unction*. In what do our Biſhops then differ from Papiſts in This?

How do they differ in Baptiſme? Both Pope and Biſhops

ſhops hold it neceſſary, abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. Yea the moſt Moderate of Both, maintaine a *generall Baptiſmall Grace*, Equally confer'd to all partakers of that Sacrament. Indeed Our Biſhops doe not openly uſe *Salt* and *Spittle*, but yet they retaine the *Croſſe*, (perhaps much worſe) and beginne to Claime ſpirituall alliances as the Papiſts doe.

In the Lords Supper, the Pope *makes* (rather than *findes*) an *Hoſtia*, an *Altar*, a *Prieſt*; and This Prieſt muſt offer for the ſinnes of the Quick and Dead. Our *Biſhops* muſt have *Prieſts*, *Altars*, a *Sacrifice*, *Corporals*, and what not that Papiſts have? to ſay nothing of their Times and Geſtures, which ſure the Scripture never ſo determined, much leſſe excluded any that could not yeeld to ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, which none ever thought could be more than *Indifferent*.

In all Ordinances the Scripture now ſpeakes of no other Holineſſe, then That which is Spirituall, Rationall, the Holineſſe of the whole man. The Pope hath found out new Holineſſe, which he puts on *Places*, *Times*, *Veſtments*, *Bels*, *Tapers*, *Water*, *Wafers*, *Copes*, *Baſons*, *Pots*, and *Cups*, with other Vtenſles.

And doe not our Biſhops ſo alſo? What meanes ſuch rigid preſſing of Holy dayes? Bare heads in Churches? Holy Surplices? What meane they elſe by their Holy Chalices? Holy Knives? Holy Patents? Holy Vtenſles? all which may be ſo ſanctified by a devout Prieſt, that they may become profitable to the Soules of thoſe that uſe them. How then doe our Biſhops differ from Papiſts in adminiſtring Sacraments, Manner of all Ordinances?

And is there any Greater Difference in *Admiſſion* of *Members*, and *Excommunication*? This laſt being the laſt and Greateſt Cenſure of the Church, by both Biſhops and Pope is made not onely moſt Common (as the humour moves them) but alſo moſt Ridiculous; being the uſuall appendix of one groat ſhort in our Reckonings with

with our Lord Biſhops Regiſter, Proctor, or Apparitor.

I would not be miſtaken here; I bring not in Theſe Things of Doctrine, or Diſcipline, as if by agreeing in One or Many of Theſe, I might convince Biſhops and Papiſts (or the Pope) were all one. The maine thing I drive at in all this, is the Originall fountaine from whence All Theſe ſpring, and all the bankes that keepe in Theſe Rivulets; That vertue and power which moves and actuates all theſe in their proper Channels: And This is *Papall*.

For, what ever the Pope doth of his owne head, by his owne Power, Dictating to his Vaſſals, as Head of the Church, This is truly Papall, and ſuch is the Power by which They uſurpe ſo much over mens perſons, and conſciences, in injoyning and preſſing ſuch or ſuch Doctrine or Diſcipline.

So that a Biſhops wearing a Surplice, Cope, Miter; uſing the Croſſe, Bowing to the Altar, and many ſuch Things (though they may be Errors, yet All Theſe, or One of theſe) makes him not a Pope, a Popeling, or properly Antichriſtian: But Receiving Theſe from the Popes Dictates, doing them becauſe he commands, acknowledging his power in commanding; This makes a *Papiſt*: and Commanding them, Preſſing them on Others, in ſuch Deſpoticall power, makes a true *Pope*, a *Reall Antichriſt*.

Nor may Our Biſhops Evade by This (which I eaſily ſee will be anſwered) that though indeed they doe theſe things, and command theſe Things; yet they neither doe them from the *Popes Command*, nor Command them in the *Popes Power*.

Though I ſhould grant This, which yet many wiſe men will not grant, (for, Our Biſhops firſt Power came from the Pope, and of late alſo We have found letters, advice, commands, Dictates from the *Pope*, to ſome of our Biſhops; and that in Matters of greateſt Conſequence,

quence, both for Church and State; But grant all They ſay, yet they may be Antichriſtian, and ſo ſuch in *Re*, as the *Pope* is; though not literally *Romaniſts*, Except they doe, or command, in the Power of *Rome*.

This I ſhall be bold to affirme, and maintaine, till I ſee better Reaſon, that He (who ever he be) that Commands the leaſt title of Doctrine or diſcipline, meerely *Ex imperio Voluntatis*, in his owne Power, and Authority; without Licence or Warrant from Scripture, or Right Reaſon, (where the Scripture hath beene ſilent) though the Thing he ſo commands ſhould happen to be good in it ſelfe: Yet He in his ſo Commanding, is not onely *Tyrannicall*, but *Antichriſtian*, properly *Antichriſtian*; Encroaching on the Royall Office of Chriſt, which is truly High Treaſon againſt God; and moſt properly *Antichriſtianiſme*. I care not whether we call him a *Pope*, *Papiſt*, *Romaniſt*, or any other name; I call him *Antichriſt*: and if you will call *Antichriſt* by the name of *Pope*, I call ſuch an Imperious Commander among us, (though he have no ſhadow of Dependance on Rome, or Romiſh Pope) an *Engliſh Pope*; I meane an Engliſh *Antichriſt*.

I neede not ſpend much time in ſhewing by what *meanes* either the Pope or Our Biſhops beganne, and continued to be ſo Antichriſtian: *Du Pleſſis* and Others, have ſav'd me This labour. In a word, they have beene Theſe. With One hand they have laid Pillowes under Princes, and all Governours (appointed by God) that ſo they might fall ſoftly, while they thruſt them downe with the Other (the ſtronger) Hand, Arme and all. When Theſe have beene ſo ſurely, though gently, laid downe aſleepe, They have beene bold to tread on them, (yet with Plush Slippers, leſt they ſhould chance to wake, ſtirre, and get up againe) and by Them, as ſo many ſtaires or ſteps, mount up themſelves into this Height of Tyranny. Thus have they ſtill *oppoſed, and advanced*

themſelves, againſt and above All that is called *God*, or is *worſhipped*. And If with your owne thoughts you will pleaſe to goe on in the Chapter, you will finde ſome other *Media* (as Lying Wonders, and others) by which they have aſcended.

I ſhall not neede to parallel Popiſh and Epiſcopall *Media* to Their Height. All the world ſees them now, For, they were not done in a Corner.

What meanes their Crying up an unjuſt and illimited power in Princes? Is not This their bleating out of an illegall unwarranted Prerogative (with which all Our pulpits have rung of late) intended to tickle Princes till they be luld aſleepe? or to ſow pillowes under them, till They themſelves can thruſt them downe; not onely from that Tyranny which Biſhops would perſwade them to uſurp; but alſo from their wholſome and lawfull prerogative.

What meaneth their Buzzing in Princes Eares, That Kings cannot ſtand without ſuch Biſhops? that if they ſhould be put downe, the Church and State too, muſt needs be Ruined? to This purpoſe they cry Blood, Blood; They can never fall without Blood: ſo ſome of them have vaunted. But Let them remember what Chriſt ſaid to One (to whom they ſo much pretend) *He that ſmiteth with the ſword, ſhall periſh by the ſword.* They know alſo whoſe Coat was ſent home to their Holy Father, with this Inſcription (written with his owne blood) *Judge Holy Father whether This be Thy Sonnes Coat or not.*

I have not forgotten how they have dealt with the People, Miniſtry, Gentry, Nobility, All ſorts of men: For they have many ſtaires to ſtep up by, to ſuch an Height; but Princes are their higheſt ſteps, their firſt Aime.

That which they have moſt ſounded in the Peoples Eares, is the Church, the Church, the Temple of the Lord,

Lord, the Temple of the Lord! by This, as by a ſtalking horſe, they have come much neerer then elſe they could. But now their Vizard beginnes to fall off; and Men beginne to ſee the true power of the True Church; and the Tyranny of that Antichriſtian Mock-Church; which under the Maske of *Indifference*, hath brought in moſt abominable Superſtitions, and moſt intolerable ſlavery on the Perſons, Liberties, Bodies, and *Soules of Men*. For they have preſſed Conſciences, even unto Gaſping: yea, and would not be ſatisfied, though they daily heard the ſighes and groanes of thoſe bleeding hearts, which themſelves had ſtabd with the poyſoned ſword of *Church-Indifference*.

Indeed they have uſed Both hands, and have ſtricken with Both. What the *Keyes* could not break, the *Sword* hath cut. And it had been much more tolerable, If This Sword had pierced no farther then the Eares of Men: with which they have yet beene much more buſie then He was, whom they bragge to have beene their firſt Predeceſſor. Yet methinkes it was a ſad Omen that this Sword ſhould cut off the Eare of *Malchus*, which ſignifies (they ſay) a *King*, or *Kingly Authority*. At This they ſtrike indeed, through the Eares, and Hearts of ſo many Loyall Subjects.

We neede not ſeeke their End, in all This. It cannot be doubted, but by all Theſe *Meanes*, they aime at One End, (which is alſo the *Popes*) to pull downe all Other Power, and ſet up their owne. Thus, Thus they *Oppoſe*, and *Exalt* themſelves above *All* that is called *God*, or is *Worſhipped*; as is more fully repreſented in another place of this Diſcourſe.

Now let any man Living ſpeake: Are Theſe Biſhops, Theſe Uſurping Prelates to be ſuffered in a Church, or State, where there is any reſpect to Right Church Government, or True State Policie? ſince it is Evident They are truly *Papall*, moſt properly *Antichriſtian*; and

as Antichrist must Oppose and Exalt themselves above all that is Worshipped, or Called God: Which is most True *Popery*, (as hath beene demonstrated) And as Popery, Destructive to all Church and State Policie.

Doubtlesse some such Apprehensions as This, wrought in their Breasts, who being offered, have refused Bishopricks; and being possessed, could not rest till they had *Disinvested* themselves againe.

Histories are full of forraine and Domesticke Examples of This sublect. Such was *Niceph. Blemnides* chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*. *Weringbaldius* chosen Bishop of *Triers*. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Adiana*. *Aminonius* cut off his Eare, (being Bishop) that so he might be uncapable of That Function. *Eugenius* (the Philosopher) left his Ministery rather than he would bee a Bishop. *Bassiances* an Elected Bishop, was by *Memnon* whipped before the Altar (three houres together) because he would not be made a Bishop. *Adrian* (with us) refused the Archbishopricke of *Canterbury*, being pressed thereunto. Two or Three Popes might come into this Catalogue; *Clement* the first was One: *Et quis fuit Alter?* Shall I name *Marcellus?* He neither refused, nor resigned the *Papacie*; yet solemnly professed *he saw not how Those that possessed such high places could bee saved.*

O but had These piously considered what Good they might have done in such high places, or duly remembred their Owne, or their friends, advancement, they could never have dome This: But *Ignoti nulla cupido.*

For answer to This Objection, I shall give you some instances of Those that have resigned up their Bishopricks after they had held them long enough for a full Tryall. Yea perhaps there be more of This kinde than of the other, though the Proverb be, *Ægrius Ejicitur quam non admittitur Hospes.*

Of These were *Vlbranius* Bishop of *Sletune*, *Arnulphus*

ſhus Biſhop of *Mentz*, *Addo* Biſhop of *Lions*, *Vicerbus* Biſhop of *Ratisbane*, *Henger* Biſhop of *Mentz*, *Adelbert* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, with many more.

Amongſt our Owne was *Edmund Boniface*, and *Robert Kalwarby*, (both Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*) *Will. Beawſe* and *William De Sancta Maria* (Biſhops of *London*.) One of *Lincoln*, and Two of *Coventry*. I may adde *Miles Coverdale*, who being deprived in Queene *Maries* dayes would not be reinveſted in Queene *Elizabeths*, but taught a Schoole. There is One Pope *Cornelius*: And *Gregory* the Great, muſt not be forgotten; who ſaid, *He that affects the Primacie of the whole Church, muſt be Antichriſt, or His Predeceſſor.*

If ſome few *Walloons*, or men of *Geneva*, ſhould declaime againſt *Epiſcopacie*, They would prevaile but little, becauſe it would be ſaid of Them, perhaps (as of That great diſturber of the Church of old) *Inſaniunt, quia non ſunt Epiſcopi*: But now *Ex Ore Tuo judicaberis*, Biſhops contend with Biſhops: not with Words, but Deeds. I beſeech you conſider that Fleſh and Blood is not wont to refuſe, or part with ſuch great Advantages: Sure we may conclude there is ſomewhat that ſtings within, *Latet Anguis in Herba*. Theſe Good men, doubtleſſe, found a Sting, and they would not kick againſt Pricks.

When Saint *Paul* (a Great *Philoſopher*) bids us beware leſt we be entangled with *Philoſophy*: When *Solomon* (who had taſted all the dainty Cates Nature could provide or dreſſe) cries out, *All is Vanity, All is Vanity*: When Biſhops themſelves (who have fully enjoyed all the ſweetneſſe a Biſhops Honour can afford) ſhall pauſe and cry, It is Enough, It is Enough, *Non iterum bibam venenum*, (as once *Dioclesian*, of his *Empire*) Sure there muſt bee ſomething worth reflecting on; a faire warning for our Preſent or Future Biſhops.

O you Judges of the Earth, why will you not bee wiſe? O you Senators (for ſuch our Biſhops are) why will

will you not learne Wiſdome? God forbid that of You ſhould be ſaid (what the Spirit ſpeaketh of ſome) *Why ſhould they be ſmitten, They rebell more and more? Why ſhould they be reproved, They will ſtill doe fooliſhly?*

Yet but for a little while; For I am Confident yet within *few Teares*, if not *Months*, if not *Dayes*, the God of Peace and Truth will deliver his Church of This heavie yoke, from which (with the *Letany* Give me leave to conclude) Good Lord deliver us.

SECTION II.

CHAP. I.

HAving cleerly proved how uncompatible *Our Epiſcopacy* is to Civill Government in *State Policy*; let us now conſider whether It may ſhelter it ſelfe under the Myſterious Covert of *Antiquity*.

I could heartily wiſh, that in matters which receive their being from *Scripture*, ſo immediately as Church Diſcipline doth, wee might make the *Scripture* (which is a ſufficient rule) our ſole guide, our ſole moderator. But as Heretickes in the day of Judgement ſhall cry to the mountaines to cover them; ſo *Hereſies* now alſo, fly to the craggy rocks of remoteſt times: and in ſuch darke corners hope to ſhelter themſelves.

Thither alſo wee will follow them, *quo fata trahunt*, we will advance. Not doubting but to unkennell thoſe little Foxes: hoping even with *Goliah*'s ſword to lay *Goliah* in the duſt, and bring the five uncircumciſed Princes of the *Canaanites*, to their juſt cenſure, before the King or Captaines of the *Iſraelites*.

There is a moſt Reverend man, famous for learning, (eſpecially for that learning which is not open to every eye) hath taken upon him the defence of This Cauſe: I ſhall

therefore in few words preſent to Him my thoughts upon thoſe His determinations; Concluding with *Philip* of *Macedon*, that if I can but win the *chiefe City*, the whole Countrey is gained: Then I ſhall ſee whether Thoſe things which are preſſed by others, be not altogether ineffectuall to determine the point which they diſpute. And ſo I ſhall leave the deciſion of This, to the judgement and opinion of the learned.

Before I conſider that Treatiſe in the parts of it, give me leave to ſay that which is moſt true, and I hope will ſatisfie all men; If every word of that his booke were true, yet it is little to the point: For the Queſtion is not, Whether there have been Biſhops ever ſince Chriſts time; but, Whether theſe have had power over their brethren: or, Whether one Biſhop hath had Juriſdiction over another. And this Queſtion is double:

Firſt, Whether they have had any ſuperintendence one above another.

Secondly, Whether this hath beene mixt with that Lordlineſſe which now is uſed; forcing obedience by the edge of the Sword, where the Keyes can give no entrance: And of this, in the whole booke there is not the leaſt hint, *negry quidem*. Though this alſo were not enough for our Queſtion; which is not only of their Lordly power in *Eccleſiaſticis*, but alſo in *Civilibus*.

In the firſt Querie, we ſhall quickly joyne iſſue; agreeing with our Antagoniſts, that there have beene Biſhops (*viz.* Miniſters of the Goſpel) who have had a Scripture power in matter of Government, over particular flocks; but the other wee doe abſolutely and confidently deny.

Firſt, He endeavoureth to prove the ſucceſſion of ſeaven and twenty Biſhops, in the ſeat of *Timothy*: and this hee eſſayeth by one ſingle (not to ſay ſimple) witneſſe, a certaine man named *Leontius*; whoſe writings have not delivered him famous to us for learning, nor his exemplary holineſſe (mentioned by others) famous for piety.

Truly

Truly, a man of greater authority than he, (as *Papias*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarpus*, who, almoſt all, knew the Apoſtles) ſhall not bee of credit ſufficient to ſway my faith in this point: Not but that they were moſt worthy men; but becauſe all Antiquity hath paſſed the refining pot of the *Index expurgatorius*, I ſhall conſider well before I ſubſcribe. And ſhall I then give credit to an unknowne Author, in thoſe things that were acted almoſt five hundred yeares before his birth? Let the world judge whether it bee equall.

Neither is this Author quoted, from witneſſe of his owne; but out of a Councell. Now, how Councells have beene abuſed, thoſe who have ever had place or note in great Aſſemblies, can too well tell: where there is almoſt no *Order* drawn up, but after a ſerious review, reducing the miſtakes of the Clerks, to the ſenſe of thoſe who did frame the *Order*, which might elſe come forth moſt diſorderly.

By what I have already ſaid, That other teſtimony brought from a fatherleſſe Treatiſe of *Timothy*'s Martyrdome, cited only by *Photius*, (a learned man, who lived ſeven or eight centuries after Chriſt) will be of no weight: for *Photius* doth but ſay he *read* it. Hear-ſay in matter of judicature is no good teſtimony: and reports in matter of opinion, at the ſecond hand, are good to amuſe thoſe who deſie venerable Antiquity; but will never edifie thoſe who deſire to bottome their reſolutions upon ſound Reaſon.

The teſtimonies of *Felix*, *John* of *Antioch*, and *Theodore*, are not of age ſufficient to bee regiſtred among the Ancients, or to be valued, becauſe they are old. I confeſſe, I ſet a greater value upon *Ignatius*, and *Ireneus*, who affirm, *Polycarpus* was made Biſhop of *Smyrna*, by St. *John*; but this muſt not be of undeniable authority.

For of *Ignatius* I ſhall affirme this, that All thoſe who are any whit learned in Antiquity, know that five of his Epiſtles are ſpurious; and how unmingled thoſe are which wee allow to be his, wee doe not know, who look upon Antiquity at ſuch a diſtance. But allow it to bee true, that

Oneſimus was Biſhop of *Epheſus*, *Polycarpus* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, *&c.* This may be true, but evinceth in no meaſure the Queſtion in diſpute: Which is not of a Biſhop in generall, but ſuch a Biſhop.

The Authority of *Tertullian* alſo, is of the ſame credit: Hee tels us that *Polycarpus* was placed by St. *John* at *Smyrna*; and at *Rome Clement* by St. *Peter*. This no body will diſpute; (though I am not bound to beleeve it.) But where is the ſtreſſe of this Argument?

In the laſt place, that of *Clement Alexandrinus*, is as much queſtioned as all the reſt. But allow it to bee true, that *John* did appoint Biſhops, they have gained nothing; for I ſhall allow that Chriſt alſo hath inſtituted Biſhops, and that Biſhops are *Jure divino*; yea, I will allow that they are to feed *Chriſts* flock, to rule *Chriſts* inheritance, in *Chriſts* ſenſe; but I ſhall never allow of theſe Biſhops, which are now the ſubject of our diſpute.

There are *Three ſorts* of Biſhops, as *Beza* ſaith: There are of *Gods Inſtitution*, and they are thoſe who have a power over their proper flock, with the reſt of the Church, and no other. There are alſo of *Mans Inſtitution*; and this ever overfloweth into the Neighbour pariſh. And laſtly, there is a *Demonicall Biſhop*; and this is hee who challengeth the Sword, as well as the Keyes.

This laſt may well be ſtiled *Demonicall*; for ſure God never erected This order; nor *Man* in his right ſenſes: Where it will then fixe, is cleere enough. Even on him, Whoſe darke Myſteries, moſt of theſe men have been very well acquainted with.

The long Robe and the Sword doe not well agree. To ſee a Lawyer tyed to his Sword till hee put off his Gowne, is not ſo comely; but to ſee a paire of Lawne ſleeves to ſtifle a Scepter, if it were but on a ſtage, I would cry out,

Spectatum admiſſi riſum teneatis?

SECT.

Sect. II. Chap. II.

THus having run through that little Treatiſe, (yet with ſome wonder, that a perſon of his profeſſion, piety, and known learning, ſhould doe That, which might in any ſenſe, ſeeme to impoſe on thoſe whom hee loveth.) I proceed to ſome other things, which I finde produced from Antiquity, by the greateſt Patrons of that kinde of *Epiſcopacy* which wee now oppoſe.

Yet by the way, I muſt note here alſo, That either none ſeeme to ſtate the Queſtion (between us) right; or elſe, all ſeem to diſſert it.

Our Queſtion (as I have often ſaid) is not of the name of *Biſhop*, or his power in *Eccleſiaſticalls* only; but alſo, and mainly, of his *Civill* power, and *Temporalls*. Which all the Patrons of *Epiſcopacy* ſeeme to ſhun, as a dangerous Rock; and hovering aloofe off, goe about to prove by Antiquity, that Biſhops had this *Name*, and ſome power even in the Primitive Church; which (though I thinke none can force me to beleeve, yet) I diſpute not: But demand, Whether any Biſhops had *ſuch* power in *Eccleſiaſticis, & Civilibus*, as ours now have in *England*.

Yet; becauſe they inſiſt ſo much on Antiquity, for *Eccleſiaſticall Epiſcopacy*, I will be content to follow them there alſo; beleeving wee ſhall finde no one foot-ſtep (in true Antiquity) of ſuch a *Biſhop* as wee now have eſtabliſhed in *England*, though wee ſhould ſtrip him of all *Civill* power, and conſider him only in *Eccleſiaſticis*.

Shall I begin with his *Election?* which indeed is ſomewhat higher than they uſe (perhaps dare) to begin. I can produce many Antiquities to prove the *Election* of all *Church Officers*, was in the People; yea, and that for divers ages after the Apoſtles; who indeed at firſt appointed Theſe themſelves: and good reaſon why, when there were no People to chooſe their *Officers*, till converted by

Oneſimus was Biſhop of *Epheſus*, *Polycarpus* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, *&c.* This may be true, but evinceth in no meaſure the Queſtion in diſpute: Which is not of a Biſhop in generall, but ſuch a Biſhop.

The Authority of *Tertullian* alſo, is of the ſame credit: Hee tels us that *Polycarpus* was placed by St. *John* at *Smyrna*; and at *Rome* (*lement* by St. *Peter*. This no body will diſpute; (though I am not bound to beleeve it.) But where is the ſtreſſe of this Argument?

In the laſt place, that of *Clement Alexandrinus*, is as much queſtioned as all the reſt. But allow it to bee true, that *John* did appoint Biſhops, they have gained nothing; for I ſhall allow that Chriſt alſo hath inſtituted Biſhops, and that Biſhops are *Jure divino*; yea, I will allow that they are to feed *Chriſts* flock, to rule *Chriſts* inheritance, in *Chriſts* ſenſe; but I ſhall never allow of theſe Biſhops, which are now the ſubject of our diſpute.

There are *Three ſorts* of Biſhops, as *Beza* ſaith: There are of *Gods Inſtitution*, and they are thoſe who have a power over their proper flock, with the reſt of the Church, and no other. There are alſo of *Mans Inſtitution*; and this ever overfloweth into the Neighbour pariſh. And laſtly, there is a *Demonicall Biſhop*; and this is hee who challengeth the Sword, as well as the Keyes.

This laſt may well be ſtiled *Demonicall*; for ſure God never erected This order; nor *Man* in his right ſenſes: Where it will then fixe, is cleere enough. Even on him, Whoſe darke Myſteries, moſt of theſe men have been very well acquainted with.

The long Robe and the Sword doe not well agree. To ſee a Lawyer tyed to his Sword till hee put off his Gowne, is not ſo comely; but to ſee a paire of Lawne ſleeves to ſtifle a Scepter, if it were but on a ſtage, I would cry out,

Spectatum admiſſi riſum teneatis?

SECT.

SECT. II. CHAP. II.

THus having run through that little Treatise, (yet with some wonder, that a person of his profession, piety, and known learning, should doe That, which might in any sense, seeme to impose on those whom hee loveth.) I proceed to some other things, which I finde produced from Antiquity, by the greatest Patrons of that kinde of *Episcopacy* which wee now oppose.

Yet by the way, I must note here also, That either none seeme to state the Question (between us) right; or else, all seem to dissert it.

Our Question (as I have often said) is not of the name of *Bishop*, or his power in *Ecclesiasticalls* only; but also, and mainly, of his *Civill* power, and *Temporalls*. Which all the Patrons of *Episcopacy* seeme to shun, as a dangerous Rock; and hovering aloofe off, goe about to prove by Antiquity, that Bishops had this *Name*, and some power even in the Primitive Church; which (though I thinke none can force me to beleeve, yet) I dispute not: But demand, Whether any Bishops had *such* power in *Ecclesiasticis, & Civilibus*, as ours now have in *England*.

Yet; because they insist so much on Antiquity, for *Ecclesiasticall Episcopacy*, I will be content to follow them there also; beleeving wee shall finde no one foot-step (in true Antiquity) of such a *Bishop* as wee now have established in *England*, though wee should strip him of all *Civill* power, and consider him only in *Ecclesiasticis*.

Shall I begin with his *Election?* which indeed is somewhat higher than they use (perhaps dare) to begin. I can produce many Antiquities to prove the *Election* of all *Church Officers*, was in the People; yea, and that for divers ages after the Apostles; who indeed at first appointed These themselves: and good reason why, when there were no People to choose their *Officers*, till converted by

the Apoſtles; who afterward left *This* Power to the *Whole Church*, rightly conſtituted. And This continued in the *Church* for divers ages: as appeares by *Conſtantines* Epiſtle to the Church of *Nice*; *Athanaſius* alſo *ad Orthodoxos*; and St. *Cyprians* ſixth Epiſtle: with many inſtances more, which might bee, and daily are produced.

It is true, that after the Apoſtles, and purer times of the Church were gone, the Clergy began to lord it over the people, and to bereave them of their due priviledge; yea oft times agreed among themſelves to chooſe One Superintendant (as we may call him) whom they called Father, and Biſhop; and in This perhaps they did not amiſſe, if This Biſhops power reſted only on the Clergy, and never reached to the people; who elſe ſure by all reaſon ſhould have had a vote in chooſing any Officer, much more ſuch a great Commander.

But let all the Patrons of Epiſcopacy produce mee one ſound Antiquity for ſuch Election as is now in uſe with us. Let them from undoubted Antiquity for three hundred yeares after Chriſt, (nay much more, for I eaſily ſee their evaſion) let them, I ſay, ſhew me but one inſtance of our *Conge d' eſtire*: It is the Thing I ſpeak of, not the Word.

Let them ſhew me (except in the dark times of Popery) power given to ten or twelve Men (except all the Clergy explicitely conſented) to chooſe ſuch a Biſhop. And yet This is not halfe that which lies in our Elections; whcih indeed are not at all made by ſo much, as the Chapiter of any Cathedrall, but received only by Thoſe who dare not refuſe it: but of this I ſpake before in the firſt Section.

I am content to paſſe their Election, (which I perceive none of them care much to examine;) and come to the Execution of their Office. In which I might inſtance in two or three maine points; as ſole Ordination, ſole Juriſdiction, Delegation, &c.

I meet

I meet with none that take upon them to defend this laſt; which as a Great Stateſ-man obſerved many yeares ſince, was a Thing at firſt view, moſt monſtrous, and unreaſonable. For, will any man living think it reaſonable my Lord Keeper ſhould, *ad placitum*, delegate whom hee will to keep the Seale, and judge in Chancery, without conſent of his Majeſty and the State, that entruſteth him with this Great Office? Yet *Theſe Men* hold it fit to entruſt a *Vicar-Generall*, *Chancellors*, *Officials*, *Surrogates*, (and yet under *Officers*;) to keep the Seale, yea weild the Scepter of Chriſt, and all the *Church*, which yet they ſay is entruſted with them. But with whom have they left the ſheep in the Wildernes? Were there nothing elſe but This, I cannot but hold our *Epiſcopacy* an intolerable *Tyranny*; ſeeing a Biſhops Dog, (I am not much amiſſe) lording it over the People, Miniſters, Gentry, Nobility, All: while his Maſter is perhaps Revelling, Dicing, or doing Worſe; for, worſe they doe.

Nor is this any way to be helped, while to one Lord Biſhop is granted ſo vaſt a Territory. Which yet he commandeth as abſolutely under that moſt ſignificant term of *Dioceſan*, *Primate*, or *Metropolitan*, as any Temporall Prince can doe, by the name of Earl, Duke, King, Emperor, or any other.

I oft remember the dry Oxe-hide, that was brought to repreſent *Alexanders* great Dominions: But I ſee them ſo farre from ſtanding on the middle, (to keep down all) that indeed they oft touch it not at all; but are acting the Lord Temporall (I might ſay more) remote enough from their own *Dioceſſe*.

Which yet of it ſelfe is oft ſo large, that no one man living could ſufficiently *Viſit* and *Over-ſee* it; except he could get the *Pope* to *Tranſubſtantiate* him alſo, and ſo get a *Ubiquitarian* Body. To ſupply which, hee is oft forc'd to puffe up his wide ſleeves, and look very big: And yet much, yea moſt of all his Office, muſt bee done by *Delegates*; who are oft, yea uſually, the loweſt dregs of baſeſt men.

In

In good earneſt, I would thank any man, that can ſhew me one good Antiquity to countenance ſuch *Delegation* of an entruſted Office, to Deputies, ſpecially to ſuch Deputies, as themſelves doe not, cannot truſt.

Doth any man dare, or can any man think it fit, to *Delegate* the Tuition or Education of a tender Prince, committed to his Charge or Care, by his Royall Father? I beſeech you; Is not the flock of Chriſt ſtiled by the Spirit of Chriſt, *An Holy Prieſthood, a Royall People?* Shall it then bee fit, or lawfull, For any man to tranſmit this Truſt to any whomſoever? eſpecially to ſuch a crue of faithleſſe Hirelings? God forbid.

SECT. II. CHAP. III.

I ſhall paſſe their *Sole Juriſdiction* alſo, being the Common Theame of all that write of this Queſtion; ſpecially when I finde ſome of themſelves diſclaime that Epithet of *Sole*: and if they can bee content to leave This out, I have leſſe to ſpeak againſt them.

Wee come to *Ordination*; or to ſpeak as they uſe, (though ſome of them love not to heare of it) *Sole-Ordination*. This is the main & Maſter-piece of all *Epiſcopacy*. All things elſe in the Church, they yeeld equally committed to Presbyters; onely *Impoſition of Hands*, they ſay, is ſolely retayned to the Biſhop; ſo *Downham, Bilſon*, and of late One of their owne, that offers to yeeld the Cauſe, for one example of Lawfull *Ordination* by Presbyters without a Biſhop.

One Example? what dare he ſay, *France, Belgium*, no parts of *Germany*, hath *Lawfull Ordination*, though by ſole Presbyters, without Biſhops? *Downham* is ſomewhat more moderate, and yeelds ſuch Orders Lawfull; but in caſe of Neceſſity, or at leaſt ſome great Exigency: in which hee hath

hath the *Charity* to include the Reformed Churches abroad, though, as hee saith, *They are of age*, and might speake for themselves.

But they urge us to shew *Antiquity* allowing any such *Ordination* without a Bishop. It hath beene shewed, and yet never answered (that I know:) that some Councels have intimated enough; *Presbyters* were wont of old to *Ordaine* without Bishops.

As that of *Ancyra*, *Can.* 13. *It shall not bee lawfull for Choriepiscopi, or Presbyters to Ordain, without consent of the Bishop*, ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ; (for so the words are in *Balsamon*, though some of themselves translate the words very strangely.) Which cleerly intimates, That before this Canon, *Presbyters* and *Choriepiscopi* (who had not still *Ordination* from three Bishops, though some had so,) did usually *Ordaine* without the Bishops leave, (much more without his presence;) and that too in Other parishes besides their Owne: Else it is strange the Councell should now forbid it, if It had never beene done before. Nay, the Canon doth not now absolutely forbid it, (which is much to bee marked) but onely commands, the Bishop's leave should bee asked to all such *Ordinations*. But if This *Imposition of hands* were a *Sole* property of Bishops, (as now some make it) the Bishop could not give leave, or depute others to doe it. For, This, even among themselves is a received Axiome, *Episcopus potest delegare ea quæ sunt Jurisdictionis, non ea quæ sunt Ordinis*.

Hitherto also may be refer'd all those Canons that require Presbyters to *Lay on their hands* with the Bishop in *Ordination*: As, *Can.* 3. *Concil. Carth.* about the yeare 418. and that of *Aken*, 400. yeares after: Yea, and this was the practice of the Church in St. *Cyprians* time, as appeares by his 6. and 58. *Epist.* So *Jerome* in his Epistle to *Rome*; and St. *Ambrose* among his Epistles *Book.* 10. Yea, and This is our Law also; which requires *Coadjutors* to Bishops in *Ordination*: Consonant doubtlesse to the most Antient practice of the Primitive Church, even in the Apo-

ſtles Times; as appeares by that of *Paul* to *Timothy*, on whom were laid the *Hands* of the Presbytery; not of the Presbyterate, or one Presbyter, as learned Mr. *Thorndick* not onely yeelds, but proves; who yet is no enimy to Biſhops.

Neither could I ever finde one good Antiquity againſt *Ordination* by Presbyters, or for *Sole Ordination* by Biſhops. I finde indeed *Collythus*, and ſome others, Unprieſted by Councels, becauſe *Ordained* by Presbyters alone; but That Act of the Presbyters was done in faction, againſt the Biſhop, and their fellow Brethren. Yea, and in moſt caſes, if not in all, Thoſe *Orders* (ſo annul'd by Councels) were conſer'd by One Prieſt alone, and ſo were indeed as unlawfull, as if by one Biſhop alone.

I might adde, that ſome Great men of good Note, have ſtrongly maintained, all thoſe Councels erred, which ſo Unpreiſted Thoſe that had beene *Ordained* by a Presbyter, or Presbyters, without a Biſhop. Amongſt Theſe are ſome of Note in the Popiſh Church; It being a Common Inſtance among the School-men, diſputing, Whether *Orders* once conſer'd could be annul'd; and they all conclude the contrary. Yea, and many of Theſe alſo ſtrongly prove, that Prieſts may as well *Ordain* as Biſhops; and their Reaſon ſeemes very good; for, ſay they, Seeing a Preiſt can Conſecrate, and by Conſecration Tranſubſtantiate, (which is more,) Why can hee not alſo Adminiſter the Sacrament of *Orders*, which is leſſe?

Yea, and ſome of them dare affirme, Neither Biſhop nor Pope can licence Prieſts to give *Ordination*, except The Power of *Ordination* bee *de jure*, in Presbyters: For, They all yeeld the Pope himſelfe cannot licence One that is not a Preiſt, to Conſecrate the *Hoſtie*; becauſe none but Preiſts have That Power of Conſecration. And a Licence doth not confer *Orders* without *Impoſition of hands*, as They all grant.

For my owne part, I ever thought That of *Bucer* moſt Rationall,

Rationall, *Deus non ſimpliciter ſingularibus Perſonis, ſed Eccleſiæ Ordinandi poteſtatem tradidit.* For ſo indeed it ſeemes the Work of the whole Church, who are to *Elect*, to teſtifie alſo and ſeale their Election by *Laying on their hands*: And the Presbytery are but the Churches ſervants in This Act. I could heartily wiſh It were reduced to This againe, which I fully conceive to be moſt agreeable to Right Reaſon, Scripture, and All Good (untainted) Antiquity. Yet till This be again reſtored, I much deſire the Prelates would leave off ſome of the *Ceremonies*, which I hear they uſe in it, (though not by Law I think,) leſt they drive all good men from taking *Orders*.

Sect. II. Chap. IV.

I Shall now paſſe from this kinde of Church Antiquity, and paſſe to the beſt Antiquity, the infallible Truth of God, in Holy *Scripture*. In it I ſhall ſhew there is little for, much againſt Biſhops; whether we conſider the *Name*, or *Office* of a Biſhop, as now it is ſetled.

The *Name*, I finde but foure times in all the New Teſtament: In Two of which, the *Name* is ſo indifferently uſed, that it maketh nothing towards an iſſue of This Queſtion. Thoſe are, 1 *Tim.* 3. *verſ.* 1, 2, 3. and, 1 *Pet.* 2. 25. And what can be gained from hence, truly I ſee not.

In the other places it maketh againſt them, as I ſhall ſhew more at large by and by.

But the Word *Elder*, (a true Biſhop) is uſed twenty ſeverall times in the New Teſtament. And you ſhall find the Apoſtles honouring This *Name* ſo much, that one of them ſtiles himſelfe an *Elder*, but none calls himſelfe a Biſhop. Indeed, *Judas* is ſo called; Who (as it were Prophetically) behaved himſelfe ſo, that his *Arch-Biſhoprick*

was given to another. I doubt not but the Spirit fore-ſaw this Word would bee quickly mounted high enough; ſo that it brands *Judas* firſt with This ſtile.

Of much more Majeſty is the Word *Presbyter*, which ſignifies *Senior*. Under the Law Youth was bound to pay Tribute to Gray haires; and *Senatus* of old was ſo ſtiled, *à Senioribus*; Whereas *Epiſcopus* ſignifies nothing but an *Overſeer*: And ſuch indeed Biſhops have beene for many yeares.

Perhaps the *Name* of Biſhop is ſometimes (though rarely) uſed, that the wilfully blinde might ſtumble: But the *Name* Presbyter very frequent; that Thoſe who love Truth and Light, might ſtill ſee ſuch a Glympſe that might Enlighten them in the midſt of Egyptian darkneſſe: from which, I doubt not, but God will deliver all Chriſtendom in due time.

I can finde as little alſo for the *Office* of a Biſhop, as for his *Name* in Scripture, yea much leſſe. I can finde our Saviour rebuking his Diſciples, ſtriving for precedency; ſaying, *Hee that will bee firſt ſhall bee laſt*. I can finde St. *Peter* ſaying, *Lord it not over the flock of Chriſt*: And St. *John* branding *Diotrephes* with ſeeking the *Preheminence*.

But where ſhall wee finde the uſurped *Office* of our Biſhops in all the Scripture? Can they finde it (by a multiplying glaſſe) where ever they ſee the *Name* of Biſhop, though but in a Poſtſcript, of St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, Whither I ſee many of them fly for their owne Name.

I muſt confeſſe I have found *ſome Præſcripts* of *Davids* Pſalmes (and other Texts) to bee now part of Scripture; but never yet found any *Poſtſcript* of ſuch Authority. I dare not therefore give it unto Theſe;

Which firſt, were never (that I could learn) received by the Church for *Authentick* Scripture; nor ever fully joyned to the Scripture, but by ſome diſtinctive note, till our Biſhops times. Yea, ſome Antient Copies have them not at all; as one very old Greek Copy in Oxford Library, if I be not miſ-informed.

Again,

Againe, These *Postscripts* have many Improbabilities, and some repugnancies; as many Learned men observe.

As, That of the first to *Timothy*; *From Laodicea the cheefest City of Phrygia Pacatiana.* Which sure was never so subscribed by St. *Paul*, who would not have spoken of a *First* Epistle, when as yet there was no *Second*, nor appearance of any. Againe, the Epithet *Pacatiana*, came from *Pacatianus* a Roman Deputy, 300. yeares after St. *Paul* wrote.

The Epistle to *Titus* is thus subscribed, (or rather superscribed,) *To Titus, ordained the first Bishop of Creet; from Nicapolis of Macedonia:* but it should have beene added; *Whither St. Paul meant to come after the Epistle, but was not there at his writing*; as appeares very probably from the third of the same Epistle *verse* 12. But what meanes that Phrase, Bishop of the *Church* in *Creet?* was there but one *Church* in all *Creet?* This sounds not like the Scripture stile; which alwayes expresseth Nationall Congregations by *Churches* in the *Plurall.* But it may very well be, *Titus* was Bishop (or Pastor) but of one *Church* in *Creet:* so that wee shall not need to contend about This.

Our Adversaries themselves yeeld, there cannot bee much urged from these *Subscriptions. Baronius, Serrarius*, and the *Rhemists*, will ingenuously confesse so much; and Bishop *Whitgift* also against Mr. *Cartwright.*

The *Postscripts* failing, where will they shew either *Name* or *Office* of a *Bishop* as now it is used? I know their strong Fort, *Tit.* 1.5. *For this cause I left thee in Creet, that thou shouldest set in Order the things that are Wanting, and Ordain Elders in every City, &c.* Here they think the Power of a Bishop is set forth at large.

But what if so? Will they bee content to bee limited to This Power? if so, wee shall the sooner agree. I think no man ever thought, Good *Titus* had a Commission heere to draw the *Civill Sword*; or so much as to strike with his *Church Keyes.*

Let us a little examine This *Commiſſion*; Which ſeems but a Briefe of a larger Patent which Saint *Paul* had given him before.

If we firſt examine the *Date* of This *Commiſſion*, wee ſhall finde it before any Church Government was ſetled; and ſo an Extraordinary Caſe, not fit, perhaps not lawfull, to be produced as a conſtant preſident.

Extraordinary Caſes of Neceſſity, breake through the *Ceremoniall*, yea *Morall Law* too. The Shew Bread may refreſh fainting *David*; *Cain* and *Abel* may marry their owne ſiſters to propagate the World; *Samuel* may be a Prieſt, though not of *Aarons* Houſe, as was ſhewed before. And why then may not an Extraordinary way be taken in the firſt ſetling of Church Government, where there is yet none ſetled? Any man might now in the converſion of the *Americans*, or *Chinois*, give direction how to admit Members, elect Paſtors, exerciſe the keyes, &c. This *Titus* did, and no more.

But ſecondly, in what manner his Commiſſion was, I know not; and nothing can be proved from hence, till that be agreed upon. It is as probable he did it but *inſtructivè*, *exhortativè*, and not *imperativè*.

Timothy received his gift by impoſition of Presbyteriall hands. If an extraordinary gift was conveyed in an ordinary way: Why might not an ordinary calling, and affaires of an ordinary nature, be managed by an extraordinary man, be carried forth in an extraordinary way? The contrary is not proved, and ſo This muſt till then, be Ineffectuall to them.

But thirdly and laſtly, I beſeech you conſider by what power he did it; by the power of an *Evangeliſt*. There are two ſorts of them,

1. Who write.

2. Who proclaime the Goſpell in an extraordinary way, as coadjuters and meſſengers to the Apoſtles in this great worke.

Of this laſt ſort certainly he was*. A Biſhop he was not; for

* See 2. Cor. 8. 23.

for our adverſaries doe all agree, that it is the duty of a Biſhop *curæ ſuæ incumbere*, to watch over his charge: now this he did not, for if *Creet* was his Charge (which in no way, neither by Scripture nor Antiquity is proved) he did not attend it; for we finde him continually journeying up and downe; he leaveth *Creet* and commeth to *Epheſus*, from thence he is ſent to *Corinth*, after that into *Macedonia*, from *Macedonia* he is returned to the *Corinthians*. Neither is it to be found in Hiſtory that he ever returned to *Creet*. Thus if I miſtake not, the Text is leſſe advantageous than the Poſtſcript.

Some thinke to finde Epiſcopacy eſtabliſhed in that example of Saint *John*, writing to the *Angels* of the ſeven Churches. But this is *Argumentum longè petitum*.

Becauſe *Paul* endorſeth the Letter of a Corporation, or an Aſſembly, to the moſt eminent man in the Congregation; Therefore He ſhall have ſole Juriſdiction; therefore the Maior ſhall have ſole power without the Aldermen, *eſt par ratio*.

When *Paul* writes to the Church of the Theſſalonians (1 *Theſ.* 5. v. 27.) commanding That Epiſtle to be read to all the holy Brethren; the Church of the Theſſalonians ſhould have Juriſdiction over other Churches: which truely I doe not thinke to be a ſtrong Argumentation.

Secondly, the Word is taken collectively for the Aſſembly and charge of Miniſters, and not for One, as appeareth evidently, *Revel.* 2. v. 24. He ſaith, ſpeaking to the Angel, *To you* and to the reſt in *Thyatira*: he puts the *Angel* in the plurall number, which hee would not have done had he written to a ſingle Biſhop.

Thirdly, theſe Epiſtles are written to the whole Church for the threats and promiſes are read to them, and the *Epiphonema* of every Epiſtle is this, he that hath an eare let him heare, what is ſpoken to the Churches.

But yet if this ſuperſcription could give any advantage to the Angel, it would but extend to his owne congregation.

The

The *Laodicean Angel* hath no influence upon the *Philadelphian*, or the *Smyrnite*; and if that be not proved, nothing is gained in the point of Epiſcopacy, except it could be proved, that theſe Angels had in their care many congregations under theſe particular Churches: which never hath, nor ever will appeare. I hope it is manifeſt to all men that they cannot eſtabliſh *Epiſcopacy* by Scripture.

Secondly, there is much in Scripture againſt them; For the word *Elder* and *Biſhop* is all one, *Tit. 1. ver. 7. For this cauſe left I thee in Creet, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordaine Elders in every City, as I had appinted thee; for a Biſhop muſt be blameleſſe, as the Steward of God.*

Firſt, he ſheweth *Titus* what manner of man an Elder muſt be, *viz. Blameleſſe*; and now proveth it, becauſe a Biſhop muſt be blameleſſe. As if I ſhould write to *Thomas* to live ſoberly, becauſe a *Man* muſt be ſober; it neceſſarily followeth that *Thomas* is a man.

So that *Phil. 1.* he writes to the Biſhops and Deacons at *Philippi*. Is it probable that a little Towne in *Macedonia* ſhould have many *Biſhops*, when one Biſhop muſt have many Cities, in his Dioces? Thoſe *Who tranſlated the Bible*, foreſaw This: And therefore *Acts* 20. They have tranſlated the word *Epiſcopus* an *Over-ſeer*. Yet in other places they tranſlate it *Biſhop*. And the Jeſuites ſay *Pia fraudes ſunt licita.*

The carriage of the Apoſtles, in ſeverall places is remarkable: when they come to a City (as *Acts* 20.) They ſend for the *Elders* of the Church, never thinking of a *Biſhop*, he is ſo inconſiderable a man. Theſe places I hope make cleerely againſt them; So now I will endeavour to ſhew what the Scripture holdeth forth for Church Government.

SECT.

SECT. II. CHAP. V.

IN this ſearch you will agree that the Government is fixed there, where you ſhall ſee ſetled the plenary and abſolute power of Election of Officers, Deciſion of controverſies, and Excommunication of thoſe that tranſgreſſe.

This you will find miniſterially in the Officers, But *initiative, virtualiter, & concluſivè*, in the People.

The Officers are called Overſeers, Rulers, and Elders, &c.

Some of theſe are to preach and adminiſter the Sacraments, others to watch over mens manners, others to ſerve Tables, and locke to the poore: All theſe are choſen by the People: but whenſoever by their induſtry any delinquency is diſcovered, the whole matter is brought to the Church, and there the people and Elders doe paſſe their definitive ſentence.

Examine but where election of Officers, deciſion of controverſies & excommunication of members are recorded, and you ſhall have them all in the Church; not *repreſentative*, but in the whole Church, conſiſting of Officers and other members.

As firſt for *election*, *Acts* 1. 15. *Peter* ſpeaketh to the People, and telleth them they muſt chooſe one in *Judas* his place, and *ver.* 23. It is ſaid *They* appointed Two. It is true the lot divided which of them two ſhou'd be the man, (a courſe in the like caſe, not unlawfull to us at this day:) But the reducing of it to Two, was the act of the *Church*; though *Peter* was amongſt them. So afterwards *Timothy* received his Evangelicall gift by the Impoſition of Presbyteriall hands; which Presbyters were in this worke, the ſervants of one preſent Congregation.

Secondly, Deciſion of Controverſies, either in caſes of Conſcience, or in point of manners. In caſes of Con-

ſcience, when *Paul* and *Barnabas* had no ſmall difference about Circumciſion, they ſent to Jeruſalem where the *Apoſtles*, *Elders*, and *Brethren* meeting together, joyntly returned that anſwer which you finde *Acts* 15. 23. 24. 2^c.

Some would preſſe this place, this act of the Apoſtles further, and give to every Synod a Commanding Power; becauſe it is ſaid *Act.* 15.28. *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay no further burden upon you.* Therefore they ſay a Synod hath a commanding and burdening Power.

But I cannot conſent to that: for then the major part of the Churches in *Europe*, *Africa*, *Preſter Johns* Country, might meet and command all the Churches of Chriſt (which God forbid,) in what they pleaſed; and that *jure divino*: for God when hee giveth a rule to his Church, hee ſpeaketh to the whole Church of Chriſt, and not to any particular Congregation. I only preſſe it thus farre, That the *People* were joyned even with the *Apoſtles*, in that Great Synod.

The Commanding power of the Synod lay in this, that the Apoſtles ſpeak the minde of the Holy Ghoſt. But ſuch authority is not left in us; and therefore no ſuch Obligation upon others: Truly if there were ſuch a power left us, I ſhould with much ſcruple reſiſt any act of ſuch Government; whereof I could make a good conſtruction; For many times the power Commanding is more dangerous than the thing Commanded: but there is no ſuch power. Neither, as I ſaid before, doe I preſſe it with ſuch a deſigne.

In caſes of Civill converſe, *Mat* 18.17. Wee muſt make our addreſſes to the Church; and hee that will not heare the Church muſt be as a Publican.

In that place the greateſt diſpute will be, What is meant by the Church? for ſome will ſay, Here is meant the Church *repreſentative*; either in *more*, as the Presbytery, or in *one*, as the *Biſhop*; and not the Church at large.

But

But I would labour to evince the contrary. Weigh either the Context, or the generall ſignification of the word *Church*, and I hope the true ſenſe will be manifeſt.

For, Let us ſee how *Church* is taken in the Scripture: It is uſed ſometimes *figurativè*; and ſometimes *properly*. *Figurativè*, as when a particular houſe is called a *Church*; As, *the Church in his houſe*, *Rom.* 16.5.

Secondly, When by *Synecdoche*, the head is put for the whole; as Chriſt is called the *Church*, 1 *Cor.* 12.12.

Thirdly, *Collectivè*, When all the Churches of Chriſt are called the *Church*, 1 *Cor.* 10.32. It is uſed perhaps under ſome other figures, but it will bee long to quote them all.

Secondly, It is uſed Properly in two phraſes;

Firſt, When the Congregation is called the Church; as the Church at *Epheſus*, *Corinth*, *&c.* Secondly, When the Congregations are called *Churches*; as the *Churches of Galatia*, and of *Judea*. Thus it is uſed *Properly*, Thus *Figuratively*; but no where *Repreſentativè: ſcil.* the Miniſters, the Presbyters, or the Biſhops; or all theſe, for the Church. You ſhall finde theſe and the Church contradiſtinct; as, *To the Saints, the Biſhops*, and *the Deacons*, 1 *Phil.* 1.1. *To the Church*, and *the Elders*, *Act.* 15.4.

I conceive wee are bound to take a word in that ſenſe which is currant in Scripture; except that ſenſe cleerely croſſe the ſcope and ſpirit of the text.

You ſhall meet with that word 48. times in the New Teſtament, and no where ſignifying that which wee call the *Repreſentative Church*; Very often for the Saints themſelves: As, 1 *Cor.* 1. *verſ.* 15. 2 *Cor.* 1. *verſ.* 1. 1 *Theſ.* 1. *verſ.* 1. Why ſhould we not then take it in the ſame ſenſe? Are not wee then bound to expound the word *Church* in ſome of thoſe ſignifications which are frequent in Scripture; and not in that ſenſe, which is ſo far from being found in the text, that a Contradiſtinct phraſe is, as I ſaid before, rather uſed?

Againe, From the text and context that will appeare to

be the meaning of the Spirit, and no other: The text is, (*Mat.*18.*verſ.*17. *If hee ſhall neglect to heare Them, tell the Church; but if hee neglect to heare the Church, let him bee to thee as a heathen man, and a Publican.* The context is in the 15. and 16. verſes, *If thy brother ſhall treſpaſſe againſt thee, goe and tell him his fault betweene thee and him alone: If hee ſhall heare thee, then haſt thou gained thy brother; but if hee will not heare thee, then take with thee one or two more; that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word may be eſtabliſhed.*

In the context and the text there are three things to bee examined, before the true ſenſe can bee found out: Firſt, Who are meant in that *Gradation*, in the 15,16,17.*v.* Secondly, Who is meant by *Them*, *v.* 17. (if hee will not heare *Them.*) Thirdly, What is meant by *Publicans* and *ſinners.*

Firſt, Who is meant in that *Gradation.* In the firſt place is meant the Party; in the ſecond is meant the Elders, or the Biſhops, the Officers of the Church.

If you ſay, They are not there underſtood: yet I am confident you will not, I am ſure you cannot, ſay, they are there excluded. If then the Spirit pointed at *them*, with the other members of the Church, or *them ſolely*; It would be an unneceſſary thing, to bring *him* afterwards to *them* againe, as to the *Repreſentative* Church.

Secondly, By *Thee*, (*v.*17.) is not meant only the Party, but every Chriſtian, every Church member, to whomſoever the newes of ſuch a miſcarriage ſhall come: Elſe this will bee a meanes to nouriſh particular parties ſidings, (which the Scripture doth exceedingly ſhun,) If by Gods Law hee ſhould bee a Publican to one of the Church and not another: If hee be ſo to every member of the Church, this will bee a hard caſe, That if a Biſhop, or an Elder, one, two, or more, ſhall paſſe the bitter ſentence of Excommunication, hee muſt be ſo to mee alſo, though I know nothing of it.

But ſome will ſay, that muſt be done before the Church.

To

To which I answer, The word saith no such matter. And thus those who mis-expound the Scripture, must eck out the Scripture, to make good their own imagination.

But secondly, Why should it be complained of, before the Church, if the deciding power be in the Officers? *Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora.*

But thirdly and lastly, If you will have the whole Church heare; it seemeth to mee against all reason in the world, that the party deputed should have power, the party deputing being present. The Steward of a Court Leet, or Court Baron, is annihilated, if the Lord bee there. All Officers vaile bonnet, when the party giving them power is present.

Why are Parliaments the representative body of the Kingdome, but because the Plough cannot stand? but because no place can containe the whole body? But if all the people could meet in *Campo Martio*, should Those who now are but servants, then bee more than servants? surely the whole Church being present, foure or five by Gods Law shall not rule all, seeing Gods Law never appoints any standing Laws against the rules of nature.

In the third place wee must enquire after the sense of *Heathen* and *Publican: sc.* the most odious of men. Is it possible that any Christian shall bee to any Christian the most odious of men, for the sentence of a Judge which hee never heard, neither hath right to heare?

Thus if you will bee bound either by *text* or *context*, or the *common acceptation* of the word in the Scripture; by *Church* must bee understood the whole Congregation.

Againe, for excommunication of members, 1 *Cor.* 5. 13. S. *Paul* commandeth Them, (*sc.* the whole Church) to put away that wicked person, and to deliver up such a one to Satan. 2 *Cor.* 2. They restore him, They forgive him.

Thus we see every where, That in election of Officers, in decision of Controversies, in cases of Conscience, in Excommunication, the whole Church disposeth every thing, not the Bishops, not the Presbyters alone.

I doe not obſerve the Church hath power in other things, but in theſe, and in all theſe, in election of Officers, in deciſion of controverſies and excommunication of delinquents, the whole power is in the Church.

I conceive then I have cleerely and briefly proved theſe three things:

1 That there is little in Scripture for Epiſcopacy; much leſſe for ſuch an Epiſcopacy as Ours.

2 Something againſt them.

3 Another Government cleerely delineated.

SECT. II. CHAP. VI.

IT being (as I conceive it is) cleered both from *State-policy*, *Antiquity* and *Scripture*, how incompatible Civill Government and ſuch Epiſcopacy are, I hope we ſhall never hereafter be choaked with that Proverbe, *No Biſhop, no King*. I doe moſt willingly pay very great reverence to a ſaying delivered to us by many ſucceſſions, from the wiſedome of our forefathers; But I ſhall ever crave leave to queſtion that Maxime which may juſtly ſeeme to me the birth either of Ignorance or ends. *Antiquity* muſt have no more authority than what it can maintaine, by reaſon frequent impoſtures of this nature command us to be circumſpect; did not our predeceſſors hold the torrid zone *inhabitabilem æſtu*? till *Noahs* Dove, *Columbus* diſcoverd Land, the world was confined in the Arke of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*.

In Divinity, where an error is of moſt dangerous conſequence, we have beene too credulous: how many hundred yeares did our fore fathers ſwallow this pleaſant bait, *We muſt believe as the Church believeth*? And ſince the light of Reformation, was not particular aſſurance of our Salvation delivered us, as an exact definition of our faith?

Wee

We have ventured our bodies as well as our soules upon these sands; for in the Art of Phisicke (though our parents at a very great remotenesse were wiser) it hath passed for a currant position that Phlebotomy almost in any case was more than dangerous; and that men might pay deare for their learning, they have beene as wise in Tenets of State-Policy.

Have not too many great ones closed in with *Neroes* conclusion, *modo erint dum metuant?*

Lastly, Episcopacy hath beene the basis, the superstructure, the All, the soule of Church Discipline for these many ages: but *dabit his meliora Deus.*

Some of these Tenets spring from invincible Ignorance; others have beene the base pullulations of spirits enslaved to false ends: This *No Bishop, no King* (as I have fully proved) pertakes of both, and therefore hath no weight with me, nor I hope shall ever hereafter be of credit with any body else; for we see that old received truthes are not alwaies to be entertained: and so I leave them with their maxime to the sentence of every judicious Reader.

SECT. II. CHAP. VII.

THere yet remaineth an objection or two, which must necessarily receive an answer, before I shut up this discourse. 1 *Obj* Allow there are some inconveniencies, (yea great ones) in Episcopacy; yet *ex malis minimum*, it is better to beare these than groane under worse. If Episcopacy be taken away, *Schismes* and *Heresies* will breake in, as armed men; *Tyranny* is more eligible then *Anarchy*; the wofull sense of *Anarchy* begot that sad Proverbe, *It is as it was with Israel, when there was no King.* *Object.* 1.

Ans. I doe agree to this, that a confusion is a most lamentable condition; and that those times are very perillous, when every mans hand is up against his brother; *Ephraim* against *Manasses*, and *Manasses* against *Ephraim*, *Answ.*

phraim: Yea, I doe profeſſe the diſtraction of *Hereſies*, the moſt miſerable of all Civill conquaſſations, disjoynt the outward eſtate; but *Hereſies* diſtract our ſoules, diſmember our Churches, ſtave off Iew and Gentile, who know not whether part to believe, ſhake the weaker, cauſe heart-burning amongſt the ſtronger, doe exceedingly provoke God to wrath and diſpleaſure. But firſt, let us conſider whether it be poſſible to be without Hereſies and Schiſmes. Secondly, whether Epiſcopacy be not the efficient cauſe of the moſt grievous Schiſmes, and Hereſies. Thirdly, whether Thoſe which may juſtly be feared upon the removall of Epiſcopacy, be of ſuch dangerous conſequence, as to weigh downe the keeping up of that Government, rather than to hazard what inconveniences may there-hence follow.

And 1 to the firſt of theſe.

It will bee cleere both from experience, and Scripture, and reaſon, that Hereſies muſt come. Look over all Nations, and all times, and you ſhall finde them diſtracted with difference of opinions: How many ſeverall Sects doe you heare of amongſt the Jewes, and ſome of them extreame groſſe? the Sadduces, the Phariſees, the Eſſeans, Herodians, with many more; though a great Critique reduce them to Three. Chriſt had no ſooner committed the care of his Church to the Apoſtles, Diſciples, and ordinary Miniſters; but they were over-runne with Hereſies: Yea, in their time, ſome were of *Paul*, ſome of *Apollo*, ſome of *Cephas*; in the interim *Chriſt* quite laid aſide. In the Church of *Pergamus*, were there not ſome that held the Doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*? In *Thyatira* did not ſome of the Church liſten to the Propheteſſe *Jezebel*, who taught them to commit fornication, and to eate things offered to Idolls? *Barnabas* and *Paul* were at ſome difference: the Doctrine of workes was preſſed upon the *Galatians*, and the reſurrection from the dead queſtioned by the *Corinthians*.

Amongſt *Heathens* (where Morality was their God) had

had you not the *Peripatetickes*, the *Sceptiques*, the *Platoniſts*, the *Epicureans*, and many other *Sects*? The Pope and Papacy, have beene much turmoyled with Schiſmes; and theſe Schiſmes have produced great confuſions amongſt them.

In the yeare of the Lord 420. *Boniface* the eighth being choſen, the Clergy choſe *Eulatius*, and there they decreed one another Heretickes; *Simmachus* and *Laurentius* cauſed the ſame diſtraction in the yeare 499. 760. Pope *Conſtantine* being convinced of Schiſmes and bereft of both his eyes, he and *Philip* (another Pope) were depoſed, and *Stephen* elected in their places. Thus it was 958. 973. 995. 1047. 1058. 1062. 1083. 1100. 1118. 1124. in the yeare of the Lord 1130. the diſputes betwixt *Gregory* and *Peter* (Both choſen Popes) were ſo famous that it was growne a Proverbe and recorded in this verſe.

Petrus habet Romam, totum Gregorius orbem.

Every twenty yeares had ſuch changes as theſe, even till of late, that Church hath beene vehemently turmoyled with all their Learned. Amongſt the Schoolemen, ſome are *Scotiſts*, ſome *Thomiſts*: among the *Polemiques*, ſome *Jeſuites*, ſome *Dominicans*. And all theſe wrangle each with other.

In the yeare of our Lord 1400. there was a great diſpute about the Originall ſinne of the *Virgin Mary*. Betweene 1215. and 1294. was that great Faction betweene the *Guelfians* and *Gibelines* (though both were Papiſts) One defending the authority of the *Pope*, the other of the *Emperour*. In ſome points of Controverſie, *Bellarmine* (one of their ableſt Writers) is not to be read without reſtriction, and not without Licence of ſuperiors.

If we ſurvey all Antiquity, we ſhall finde no one Century free from *Heretickes*. *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Marcion*, *Samoſatenus*, *Novatians*, *Sabellians*, *Nepotians*, *Maniches*, *Arrians*, *Pelagians*, with many others, have troubled the Church from time to time.

If you deſcend ſo low as our daies, even among

Proteſtants you ſhall meet with too too many Diviſions. *Luther* and *Calvin*; and the Engliſh Church betweene both; a *Calviniſt* for Doctrine, a *Lutheran* for Diſcipline. The *Lutherans* are divided in *Rigidiores*, *& Molliores*, and theſe differ *toto Cœlo*. The *Calviniſts* have many diſputes: How fiercely doth learned *Eraſtus* contend with *Calvin* and *Beza*, about *Excommunication* denying the Church any ſuch power?

The Church of *England* hath three maine Diviſions; The *Conformiſt*, the *Non-Conformiſt*, and the *Separatiſt*. The *Conformiſt* hath the *Orthodox* Divine, contending with the *Arminian*, *Socinian*, *Pelagian*, *Anabaptiſt*, and divers others; who yet All ſtile themſelves Sonnes of the Church of England. The *Non-conformiſt* is uncertaine what he ſcrupleth; for ſome can diſpence with one of the three Grand Nocent-innocent Ceremonies; ſome with another, ſome with neither. The *Separiſt* is ſubdivided too (as they ſay) into *Seperatiſt*, and *Semi-ſeperatiſt*. Many other Diviſions there alſo be, will be, in Churches here.

Yea, it is cleare in Reaſon, that Diviſions, Sects, Schiſmes, and Hereſies, muſt come; For, many are apt to advance themſelves and undervalue all others: and Mens Braines being fertile of errors, after they have conceived they muſt bring forth; though the Goſpell ſuffer never ſo much by it. And while This Temper is among men, you muſt ſtill expect *Schiſmes* and *Hereſies*.

The Scripture hath put this out of all doubt, it ſaith, *Hereſies muſt come*. Chriſt came to ſet a Sword, not only betweene the Good and Bad, but even among Profeſſors of the ſame Chriſtian Religion; that Thoſe who hold out to the End may have their Honour and Reward. It is to be marked that Chriſt doth not preſſe his people to ſeeke their freedome, till *Rome* bee falling, and then he ſaith, *Come out of her my People*.

Yea, the Scripture foretelleth of one *Hereſie* that is not yet (perhaps) come; it may be it is now in the Birth; ſure

ſure it is not farre off, It is mentioned in the ſecond of *Timothy*, the third Chapter and ſome of the firſt verſes.

2 TIM. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

1 *This know alſo, that in the laſt daies perillous times ſhall come.*

2 *For men ſhall be lovers of their owne ſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankfull, unholy.*

3 *Without naturall affection, truce-breakers, falſe accuſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good.*

4 *Traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleaſures more than lovers of God.*

5 *Having a forme of Godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof: from ſuch turne away.*

Expoſitors all agree This miſery to be in the Waine: But in their agreement they differ very much; for ſome conceive the *Papiſt* is here underſtood; others apply it to the late Troublers of Iſrael, the *Arminian*, *Socinian*, and the worſt ſort of Epiſcopall men, that under the Notion of indifferent Ceremonies would have brought us to ſwallow downe all *Popery*.

But under favour, I doubt neither of Theſe, reach the full meaning of the Text. It cannot be the *Papiſt*, becauſe it is not to riſe till the *Laſt Dayes*. Indeed *Popery* is cleerely expreſſed in the 1 of *Tim.* the fourth, verſe the 1, 2, 3. (as that moſt Learned and Reverend man Mr. *Mead* hath fully cleered in his moſt excellent peece on that Text) yet there they are ſaid to riſe in the Later Times (*viz.* of the Roman Empire;) but here theſe new Hereticks come not out till the *Laſt* (not only *Later*) *Dayes*, not only *Times*, but *Dayes* of thoſe *Times*.

Againe, it ſeemes not to be the *Arminian* (or any of that Rable I mentioned but now.) For firſt, the Character of their Times is Perillous, as if it would intimate men indeed ſhould be in danger, but yet eſcape, the Times being

being only perillous: But while Popery bore all before it, forced the whole Church into the Wilderneſſe, cloathed the Witneſſes with Sackcloth, and at laſt prevailes to kill them: ſure theſe Times are more than perillous. But perhaps there is no preſſing force in This.

In the ſecond place let us conſider the Character of the Perſons. Firſt, they are expreſſed as Breakers of the Lawes of *Civill Converſe*; and then as *Hypocrites* in *Religion*: the firſt of theſe beginneth at the ſecond, and contiueth to the fifth verſe: The ſecond is in the fifth and ſixth verſes. Let us view ſome paſſages in both.

Lovers of themſelves, Covetous, Proud, &c. And have not men beene ſuch ever ſince *Adam*? Why then doth the *Spirit* ſpeake of This as a ſtrange thing in the *Laſt Dayes*? Mr. *Calvin* ſaw this Objection, and therefore oft affirmes (that the Scripture may not ſeem to ſpeake *Frigidè*) Here muſt be ſome new ſtrange Crew of Men that act all Theſe in a moſt eminent manner, even to the eye of all men.

But ſome will ſay, Are not the *Papiſts* ſo? Is not the corrupter part of *Prelates* ſuch? Are not the *Arminians* of this temper? Certainely they are ſuch, and in an eminent manner; and yet to me they ſeeme not the men the Spirit pointeth at in this place.

The maine Thing in which theſe men (here expreſt) pride themſelves, is not Learning, or Parts; But (if I bee not much miſtaken) ſomewhat beyond and within all theſe: That, I ſuppoſe, which ſeemes to them to bee the Spirit. This, I conceive, is the *Baſis* of all their vanity, pride, and inſolence. They have the Spirit, and ſo know more than all the Learned, Pious, Godly Men in the world. They have the Spirit, they cannot ſinne, they cannot erre; they will not pray, but when that Spirit moves. *Adultery* is but an act of the Fleſh, but they are all Spirit, and no fleſh. What ſhould theſe men doe with Naturall affections, they are all Spirit? in this caſe if they be Traitors, High-minded, Heady, &c. Who will wonder? What may they not be carried up to, by the imagination of

of the Spirit? But let them take heede, if they have any thing of God in them; let them be wiſe in this their day, for the time may come when it will bee too late. In the meane time I will ſay as *Peter* did to *Simon*, *Pray* (that if it bee poſſible) *this wickedneſſe of heart may bee forgiven.*

If we look on the other part of their Character, *Having a forme of Godlineſſe, but denying the Power thereof, Creeping into the houſes of ſilly women, Laden with divers Luſts*, &c.

How can theſe be ſpoken of *Arminians*, *Socinians*, or our Prelates? It were to be wiſhed that moſt of Theſe had ſo much as a *Forme* of Godlineſſe. Sure the World is now growne too wiſe to take Duckings, and Cringings, Croſſing, and Crouching, with all of this kinde, to be ſo much as a *Forme* of Godlineſſe.

Doe Theſe creep into Womens houſes? the *Socinians*, and *Arminians* attempt no ſuch pranks, that I know of. And the Patrons of Epiſcopacy uſe not much perſwaſion, but Club law: All elſe is in Corners.

It ſeems very probable to me, that the Holy Ghoſt in This text points out ſome ſuch, as the *Family of Love*, the *Antinomians*, and *Grindletonians* are, if (at leaſt) they are not much belyed. And to theſe, I think, every piece of This Character will moſt properly belong. Yea and the Cloſe of it alſo, or the Iſſue of That Sect. *They ſhall proceed no farther, for their folly ſhall be made manifeſt to all men*, which can hardly be underſtood either of *Arminianiſme*, or *Prelacy*, ſince *That* in ſeverall names, *This* in ſeverall dreſſes, hath been in the world above 1000. years.

Thus you ſee *Sects*, *Schiſmes*, and *Hereſies* will ſtill come, and muſt come: And therefore if by keeping ſuch Biſhops we think to keep out all Diviſions, we are much deceived. Which yet I ſpake not to take away watchfulneſſe in Church-Governours, (who are ſtill bound to ſuppreſſe Diviſions as much as they can) but to convince men of This (if I can) that *Epiſcopacy* is never like to

prevent Schiſmes: which I hope to cleere more fully in my ſubſequent diſcourſe.

I could never conceive more than Two wayes, that in probability may be like to quiet us in reſpect of Diviſions. One of Theſe we have no minde to try, and the other we may not if we would.

The Spaniard indeed by his cruell *Inquiſition*, hath inclined his Subjects to a kinde of *Vnity*; but an Vnity of Darkneſſe and Ignorance: ſo that the Remedy proves worſe than the Diſeaſe. Neither will, or can Tyranny either Civill, or Eccleſiaſtick, bring forth better fruit.

The other *Way* is That of the *Vnited Provinces* (in the Low Countreyes) who let every *Church* pleaſe her ſelfe in her owne way, ſo long as ſhe leaveth the *State* to her ſelfe. And how Religion doth flouriſh There, is known to moſt men. I will not diſpute This now; only I wiſh heartily, men would remember, that even *Nature* her ſelfe as much abhorres a *forced violent Vnion*, as a *Rent* or *Diviſion*.

But in the next place, let us ſeriouſly conſider, whether the Biſhops (as now they be ſetled here) be not the Cauſe of moſt Sects, Schiſmes, and Hereſies now amongſt us.

Some of them will not deny themſelves to be *Arminians*; and others cannot deny themſelves *Socinians*. If at leaſt they think we can underſtand their writings, printings, yea and Sermons, though Theſe bee very Rare.

Yea ſome doe not deny, but they may (at leaſt) receive Orders; they meane a Pale, Mitre, and Cardinalls Hat, if they come. All which we may yet better conſtrue by their carriage to Prieſts and Jeſuites, both in publique and private, which now we know more than by bare ſurmiſe. Many of Theſe they countenance openly, and never queſtion any, though it be certainly knowne: we had (they

(they had) more ſuch in London, than were good Miniſters in all England almoſt.

All the Livings under moſt of our Biſhops have been committed to the Cure and Care of ſuperſtitious Formaliſts, Arminians, Socinians, Papiſts, or Atheiſts. Yea the Univerſities are much corrupted by their malignant influence; for, *Nero*-like they think they have done nothing, till they have murdered their owne Mother. In a word, through the whole Kingdome, Preaching, Praying, Expounding, and the like exerciſes, both in publick and private, are ſeverely ſuppreſſed, and in many places altogether forbidden (except ſuch and ſuch, more pernicious than profitable;) and all This by the Fathers of our Church, the Lords our Biſhops. And is not This the moſt compendious way poſſible to beget and encreaſe *Hereſies?*

They cry out of Schiſme, Schiſme; Sects and Schiſmes; and well they may: They make them, and it is ſtrange they ſhould not know them. When they laid ſuch ſtumbling blocks (Reall Scandals, not only *accepta*, but *data*) in the way of good men, whoſe Conſciences they have grievouſly burdened, and wounded with Things (violently preſſed on the greateſt fines) that are ſo farre from being indifferent, that many of them were point blank unlawfull: have they not by This even forced their brethren to ſeparate themſelves in Judgement and Practice, till they could finde ſome remote place that might ſeparate their bodies alſo? Was not This in Them the readieſt way to produce Diviſions, Separations, and (as they call it) *Schiſmes* in the Church? Rents are bad, I confeſſe, where ever they be violent; but yet then worſt, when moſt out of the eye. *Schiſmes* in the *Conſcience* are of greateſt danger; and to prevent Theſe, if I am forct to That, which they pleaſe to call a *Schiſme* in the Church, Woe to Him that ſo forceth me. Scandals, Schiſmes, and Diviſions muſt come; but woe to him by whom they come. God forgive them in This paticular.

I pro-

I profeſſe I take no pleaſure in ripping up their foule, loathſome ſores; I would they could bee throughly healed without launcing and opening. I could give you a ſtrange account of ſad Diviſions, which themſelves have cauſed both to *Church* and *State:* I could tire you and my ſelfe in This, though I ſhould begin but little higher than mine owne Time, mine owne Knowledge.

In Queene *Elizabeths* Time, many good men were cut off from the *Church*, ſome from the *State*, a ſad Schiſme! Some by violence laid aſleep; Many ſuſpended, ſilenced, deprived, cut off (by a ſtrange Schiſme,) from liberty, livings, (that I goe not higher;) And all This for one word, of their owne compounding, *Non-Conformity*: While they themſelves are indeed the greateſt *Non-Conformiſts* to all the *Reformed Churches* in *Europe*.

Surely, It would have ſavoured more of Humility, of Chriſtianity, if they had ſuſpected their owne Judgements and Opinions; allowing ſomething to the Judgement, Learning, and Piety of thoſe holy, worthy, pretious Saints, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucer*, *P. Martyr*, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, with many more, great, famous, and eminent Lights, in their times.

If they will ſtand for *Conformity*; Let any man living judge, whether it bee fitter for ſome few Biſhops, newly come out of groſſe Popery, (and ſtill retaining their old Popiſh Ceremonies,) to *reforme*, and *conforme* themſelves to the Judgement and Practice of all *Reformed Churches*; or all Churches to ſubſcribe to Them.

As they began, ſo they continued: Chriſt and they being like *parallell* lines, though they ſhould run out *in infinitum*, they would never meet: Nay rather, like the *Crura* of a *Triangle*, the farther they run (out from the *Center*) the more they differ, and are diſtant each from other.

Under King *James*, in a few years, four or five hundred Reverend men were divided from their Livings, and Miniſtery: And was not this a cruell Schiſme? Now alſo by

by Them was firſt forged that ſharpe *Raſor*, (or, *Book of Sports*) with which they have ſince made great *Diviſions* of *heart*.

But in our Gracious Kings Reigne, they have come to Cutting off Eares, Cheeks; and have yet ſtruck deeper, and eſſay'd many *Soule-Schiſmes*; not only in the Hearts and Conſciences of thouſands of good men; but whole States alſo and Kingdomes, as much as in them lay.

While I heare the ſad groanes, and ſee the bleeding wounds of Three Kingdomes at once, by their Schiſmes; I have almoſt forgotten the parting ſighs, and farewell teares of ten thouſand poore Chriſtians, by Their Tyranny forc'd to abandon their native Country, and deareſt acquaintance; while others were here violently detained in Fetters, ſome ſmoothered in Dungeons, ſome Diſmembred, ſome driven out of houſe and Living, and forced to beg: All which yet would have bin born patiently, had not only all Good men, but Goodnes it ſelf, Learning, Religion, Piety, All that ſpeaks any worth, been altogether, not only diſcountenanced, but ſuppreſſed, ſmoothered, and by moſt exquiſite Tortures almoſt forced to breath its laſt.

Yet that theſe Glorious Princes (under whom ſuch Tyrannies have beene committed) may not ſuffer in your thoughts, Give me leave to ſpeake ſome things on mine owne knowledge and experience, others from beſt intelligence. Queene *Elizabeth*, when ſhee heard of Their miſcarriages, fell on Them in moſt ſharpe language, threatning Them, if they ſhould ever doe the like againe to her Subjects.

King *James* offered faire diſcourſe to the *Non-Conformiſts*; honoured Mr. *Cartwright* and others of them; diſclaimed the Book of Sports: And being asked, why hee made ſo many Bad Biſhops, anſwered ingenuouſly, with a ſtrong aſſeveration, *That hee was very ſorry, but could not helpe it; For, no good men would take the Office on them.* And our Gracious Soveraigne (ſince ſome light hath dawned out of darkneſſe,) hath delivered our

Siſter Church of *Scotland* from that unhappy Generation.

For, now I hope the Clouds begin to breake away; Light ſpringeth up, while Dark Iniquity is forced not only to ſhut her mouth, but hide her ſelfe and diſappeare. Now the Sun againe mounteth up in our *Horizon*, and quickeneth the drooping ſpirits; ſo that now many that were Bed-rid ſome moneths ſince, now begin to take up their Beds and walke, leaping up and bleſſing God.

Fire and *Water* may bee reſtrain'd, but *Light* cannot; It will in at every cranny: and the more it is oppoſed it ſhines the brighter: ſo that now to ſtint it, is to reſiſt an *enlightened, enflamed Multitude*; which ſtill was, and ſtill will be *Duriſſima Provincia.*

Their mad outrage in all the three Kingdomes, of late, hath ſo incenſed the Common People, that in all mens eyes they are become moſt vile: and while all men reflect on their conſtant trade of miſchievous practices, the wiſeſt begin to conclude, The very Calling hurt the Men, as much as Theſe diſgrace the Calling.

Thus we have, by too too long, great, and ſad experience, found it true, That our Prelates have beene ſo farre from preventing Diviſions; that they have been the Parents and Patrons of moſt Errors, Hereſies, Sects and Schiſmes, that now diſturbe This Church and State.

SECT. II. CHAP. VII.

BUt it may bee, the *Remedy* will yet bee worſe than this *Diſeaſe*. Let us therefore, yet more exactly weigh all the Inconveniences that may attend the Change of This Church-Government, which wee now diſpute.

The Dangers which ſome have fancied may hence accrew to the State, have beene diſcuſſed in the former Section,

ction, to which more properly they doe belong. We have here only to conſider, ſuch Evils as may have bad influence into the Church, and Polity thereof.

Arminianiſme, Socinianiſme, Superſtition, Idolatry, Popery, will pack away with Them; being Their Attendants, as was ſhewed before. What is there then to be feared? *Anabaptiſme, Browniſme, Separatiſme*; nay every body, every Lay man will turne Preacher.

Suppoſe all This be true, (which can be but ſuppoſed;) Would it not bee much better to hazzard the comming in of all Theſe, than ſtill to ſuffer our ſoules and bodies, to be groun'd to powder by theſe Tyrannicall, Antichriſtian Prelates, that under pretence of keeping out *Separatiſme*, introduce downe-right *Popery*, and a ſnack of almoſt all Errors and Hereſies? Yea, and theſe Errors of the Right Hand (which Theſe pretend ſo much to oppoſe) owe their birth to our Biſhops alſo; as was but now, and might yet more fully, be cleered. Wee all know, that within theſe ten yeares, all the *Non-Conformiſts* in England, could not amount to more than one or two hundred: And now how many thouſands there bee, (yea of ſuch that riſe one pin higher than Old *Non-Conformity*,) Themſelves, perhaps, know much better than I: Yet our Biſhops never were more active, than in all this time. Whence then ariſeth this New *Non-Conformity*, or *Separatiſme*, but out of our Biſhops Commotions? I will not ſay, as the Fathers did of old, *Ex martyrum ſanguine pullulat Eccleſia*; yet I muſt confeſſe, I begin to think there may bee perhaps ſomewhat more of God in theſe (which they call new *Schiſmes*,) than appeares at firſt glympſe.

I will not, I cannot, take on mee to defend That, men uſually call *Anabaptiſme*: Yet I conceive that Sect is Twofold: Some of them hold *Freewill*; *Community* of all things; deny *Magiſtracy*; and refuſe to *Baptize* their Children. Theſe truly are ſuch Heretickes (or Atheiſts,) that I queſtion whether any Divine ſhould honour them ſo much as to diſpute with them; much rather ſure ſhould

Alexanders ſword determine here, as of old at the Gordian knot, where it acquired this Motto, *Quæ ſolvere non poſſum, diſſecabo.*

There is another ſort of them, who only deny *Baptiſme* to their Children, till they come to yeares of diſcretion, and then they *baptize* them; but in other things they agree with the Church of England.

Truly, Theſe men are much to bee pitied; And I could heartily wiſh, That before they bee ſtigmatiz'd with that opprobrious brand of *Schiſmatick*, the Truth might be cleered to them. For I conceive, to thoſe that hold wee may goe no farther than *Scripture*, for Doctrine or Diſcipline, it may bee very eaſie to erre in this Point now in hand; ſince the Scripture ſeemes not to have cleerly determined This particular.

The Analogy which *Baptiſme* now hath with *Circumciſion* in the old Law, is a fine Rhetoricall Argument, to illuſtrate a Point well proved before; but I ſomewhat doubt, whether it be proofe enough, for that which ſome would prove by it: ſince (beſide the vaſt difference in the Ordinances,) the perſons to bee Circumciſed are ſtated by a poſitive Law, ſo expreſſe, that it leaves no place for ſcruple: but it is farre otherwiſe in *Baptiſme*; Where all the deſignation of Perſons fit to bee partakers, for ought I know, is only, *Such as beleeve.* For this is the qualification that, with exacteſt ſearch, I find the Scripture require, in perſons to be *baptized:* And *This* it ſeemes to require in all ſuch perſons. Now, how Infants can bee properly ſaid to *beleeve*, I am not yet fully reſolved.

Yet many things prevaile very much with mee in this point.

Firſt, For ought I could ever learne, It was the conſtant cuſtome of the pureſt and moſt Primitive Church, to baptize *Infants* of beleeving Parents; For I could never finde the beginning and firſt Riſe of this practice: Whereas it is very eaſie to track Hereſies to their firſt Riſing up, and ſetting foot in the Church.

Againe,

Againe, I finde all Churches (even the moſt ſtrict) have generally beene of this judgement and practice: yea though there have beene in all ages ſome, that much affected novelty, and had parts enough to diſcuſſe and cleere what they thought good to preach; yet was this ſcarce ever queſtioned by men of Note, till within theſe Laſt Ages. And ſure, the conſtant judgement of the Churches of Chriſt, is much to be honoured, and heard in all things that contradict not Scripture.

Nor can I well cleere that of St. *Paul* (1 *Cor.*7.14.) *Elſe were your Children Uncleane, but now are they Holy.* I know ſome interpret it thus, *If it be unlawfull for a beleever to live in wedlock with one that beleeveth not; Then have many of you lived a long time in unlawfull marriage; and ſo your very Children muſt be Illegitimate, and theſe alſo muſt be caſt off (as Baſe-borne:) But it is not ſo; for, Your Children are Holy*; that is, *Legitimate.*

I confeſſe, This ſeemes a very faire Interpretation; yet I much queſtion, Whether This be all the Apoſtle meanes by that phraſe *Holy*; eſpecially when I reflect on the preceding words, *The Unbeleever is Sanctified by the Beleever.* Nor yet can I beleeve any *Inherent Holineſſe* is here meant; but rather That *Relative Church-Holineſſe*, which makes a man capable of admiſſion to *Holy Ordinances*, and ſo to *Baptiſme*; yea and to the *Lords Supper* alſo, for ought I ſee; except perhaps Infants be excluded from This Sacrament, by That Text, *Let him that eateth, Examine himſelfe, and ſo let him eat.* As *Women* are excluded from Church-Government and preaching in Congregations, by That of the ſame Apoſtle, *I permit not a Woman to ſpeak; Let Women keep ſilence.*

The ſecond thing we feare ſo much, is *Separation*, or as ſome tearme it *Browniſme*; for I am not ſo well ſtudied in theſe, as to give an exact difference betweene them, or properly to ſtate or phraſe either. Yet I thinke this alſo

hath Latitude, and admits of difference. Before you paſſe any ſevere cenſure, be pleaſed to Heare theſe Poore men (you call *Separatiſts*;) Know their Tenets, and then Judge.

Their maine Tenets (for ought I could ever learne) are about ſome few Points in *Diſcipline*, in which ſure there is leſſe danger, than in *Doctrine*, of which they diſpute not.

Firſt, they would admit none as members of their Aſſemblies, generally to partake with them in all the Ordinances, but ſuch which ſeeme *Beleeving Saints*, and ſo members of Chriſts true Church.

Secondly, they conceive every ſeverall Congregation (rightly conſtituted) hath within it ſelfe *the power of the keyes*, committed to it, without dependance on other Churches: Yet not denying the lawfull aſſociation of ſeverall Churches, nor refuſing the advice and counſell of Councells and Synods.

I ſhall crave leave to ſcan the firſt, and ſee how much it differeth in truth, from the received Tenets of the Church of *England*.

I doe conceive that *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, all Churches, even *Rome* it ſelfe will agree in this, that a Church is (*Cœtus Fidelium*, *Gathered together in the Name and power of Chriſt, to waite on him, in the way of his Ordinances revealed in his Word*. In this I ſuppoſe we all agree; where then is that *Chaſma*, that great Gulfe of difference, which brands ſo many with the black ſpot of *Separation*?

All the difficulty lies in Stating who are beleeving Faithfull Saints, for of theſe only all agree, a true Church conſiſts. I beſeech you let us call him a Beleever, and a Saint whom the Scripture calls ſo, and wee ſhall ſoone agree.

The Pope ſaith, he is a faithfull Saint, and a true Member of the Church; *Who beleeveth as the Church beleeveth.*

The Church of *England* ſaith, he is a Beleever (enough

to

to make a Member of that Church) that *professeth the truth*, though in his life he deny it.

Those men say he is a faithfull Saint who *professeth the truth*, and to all appearance (for we cannot see the heart) practiseth as he professeth.

Now all men will agree, this last is a Beleeving Saint: And these will have none but this to be a Saint; and so none but this to be a Member of Christs Church.

I beseech you: Is this such an error, to desire *Profession* and *Practise* to be conjoyned in one that is to be a Member of the Church of Christ?

When I desire a good Wife, a faithfull Servant, a constant Friend, a familiar Companion; Am I not as desirous to know the Heart as well as the Head, the Will as well as Skill, Affection as well as Profession? And why then may I not doe as much in choosing my Spirituall Friends; my constant Companions in the worship and service of God?

Can any man by right, force me to marry such or such a woman, to take such a servant, to dwell with such a friend, to choose such a companion? And may any man force me then to bee companion, in the neerest and most intimate converse of Spirituall Ordinances, with any one or more, whom I dare not, I cannot, I may not trust, to be either friends to God or me; because what ere their lips professe, their life and waies deny God, trample on the blood of Christ, despise, at least profane all his Ordinances.

I could heartily wish some pitty might bee shewed to these poore mens soules. *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to his owne Soule.* And is it not then much better to keepe these men off (as they doe in *Scotland* and other Reformed Churches) till they give the Church satisfaction upon good ground of their Repentance and Faith; that so they may not hurt themselves by Gods holy Ordinances?

Sacraments confirme, but doe not conferre Grace; if they did

did ſo, the caſe were altered; but now they are like the *Paradiſe* of God, guarded with the *Flaming Sword*; ſo that the Tree in the midſt of the Garden, (which is Chriſt) cannot be Touched by prophane hands.

The other Grand Hereſie (men ſo much cry againſt) in *Separation*, is the *Independence* of their Congregations, as it was ſtated before.

But why ſhould the *Independence* of One Aſſembly, to a *Province*, or *Nation*, be more *Schiſmaticall*, than that of a *Province*, or *Nation*, to the whole *World*? Why may not *Geneva* be as *Independent* to *France*, as *France* may bee to the other parts of *Europ's* Continent? In *Geneva*, why may not one Congregation, be as independent to All *Geneva* beſides, as *Geneva* is to all *France* beſides? Doth indeed ſuch a Wall, or River, or Sea, ſo limit and bound the Church within it, that it may bee independent on any Church without it; and may not one Congregation within this River bee as well independent on all other Aſſemblies, within the ſame River or Sea?

Are there not ſome ſparklings of this Truth even amongſt us in *England*? Have not we *Peculiars*? ſome Congregations exempt from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop within whoſe Dioceſſe they be? And, I thinke no Separatiſt deſireth more than this, That all Pariſhes (I meane all Congregations) ſhould be *Independent Peculiars*.

Suppoſe an Eaſt Indi- Merchants Ship be caſt on ſome Remote Iland beyond *China* where there ſhall be no Inhabitant; may not in this Caſe, the men of this Ship gather together, chooſe out ſome one or more (of themſelves) to Read, Preach, Adminiſter the Sacraments? is not this a true Church, and ſo to bee reputed while they beleeve the Truth, and doe what they beleeve? Is there any one Eſſentiall part wanting to this Church, ſo Conſtituted?

If it be anſwered affirmatively, that there is yet wanting ſome Eſſentiall; I rejoyn, then it is not a true Church; nay

nay so farre from being *vera Ecclesia*, that it is not *vere Ecclesia*: For He is not *vere Homo*, that wants something *Essentiall* to Man: nor It *vere Ecclesia*, that wants any thing *Essentiall* to a *Church*.

If it be yeelded that in such a Case there is nothing Essentiall wanting to This Church: I will againe suppose that within a yeare or Two, another English Ship be cast on the same very Iland, and have such another Company or Church; I demand now whether it be necessary, that Both These Churches must needs joyne together, or at least depend One on the Other.

If it be *not necessary*, I have what I desire. If it be *necessary*; Then was not the former Church a *True Church*; because it wanted something *Essentiall* and *necessary* to a *Church*; to wit, *Dependance* on some other Church.

If it be said, This Church did before depend on the whole *Catholike Church*, I will not gainsay it; so They meane onely Thus much, that *This Church was a true member of the True Church or Body of Christ*; which is but made up of so many particular Congregations, as mans Body, of its particular members. And so This will be no more then to say, All the members of the Body are Parts of the Body, and *conjoyned* together, but onely *subordinate* to the Head. For, I suppose no man will say One of my *hands* is dependant on the Other; but both (as all the other members) dependant on my *Head*: so are all particular Churches (I meane Congregations) dependant on their Generall Head, *Christ*, but not on other of their fellow members.

If any man shall say, that *Hands* depend not onely on the *Head*; but also on the Armes, *Shoulders*, and *Necke*; which are betweene Them and the *Head*, on whom they ultimately depend.

I answer, It is true, the *Hands* are *conjoyned* to the *Armes*; These to the *Shoulders*; and Both by the *Neck* to the *Head*: but yet They *depend* not on any but the

Head. I meane they are not directed and guided by the Dictates of *Arme*, *Shoulder*, or *Necke*, but onely by the Commands of the *Head*: ſo that there is onely a bodily outward Continuity, and no vertuall *Dependance*, but on the *Head*. The *Head* ſends out *Animall Spirits*, and by them guides my *Hand*, as my fancie pleaſeth. This Guiding or Directing *Depends* onely on the *Head*, not *Arme*, which (when I meane to move my *Hand*) is but as it were my *Hands Servant*, that muſt goe and call, and lead my *Hand* (as a Gentleman Uſher) but not command it.

So are alſo all the Churches, all ſeverall Congregations; They are all members, and are all outwardly conjoyned One to another (through all the world) by the *tendons* and *ligaments* of Rivers, Seas, Hils, Vallies, and the like. Yea and ſome of Theſe are neerer to Chriſt their Head, as they keepe themſelves purer, and walke more cloſely in dependance on Him. Yet All theſe Churches are but *Coordinate*, not among themſelves *Subordinate*; They are but conjoyned each to other, not dependant each on other, but All on their Head; which alone can command and move them. Yea though perhaps ſome One Church may come betweene Chriſt and another Church (as the Arme betweene the Head and Hand) yet it is there but as a ſervant to call on, leade, helpe, uphold, (being ſo commanded by the Head) but not to command, dictate, or over-top its fellow member.

You ſee here what Power we give to Synods and Councels, or all other Churches over one particular Church; to wit, a counſelling, perſwading (which ſure is very prevailing) but not commanding Authority.

I doubt not but Chriſt doth ſometimes require One Church to incite, exhort, admoniſh, and perſwade another fellow Church (though This be not required of any one Angel in the Apocalyps, towards another Church or Angel, yet I ſuppoſe it may be in ſome Caſes) yea and ſo that

that the Other Church may haply ſinne if ſhee doe not follow This Call and Counſell: yet not becauſe it comes from her fellow Church, (or any Synod) but becauſe it comes from Chriſt her Head, that ſpeakes through This Church to her fellow. As the Hand might juſtly bee ſtiled rebellious that rejects the Animall Spirits ſent from the Head, though they come *through* the Arme; Which is here in this Caſe, not onely a ſervant to the *Head*, but to the *Hand* alſo.

Yet doth not the *Hand* rebell, becauſe it refuſeth That which comes from the *Arme*, but becauſe it came from the *Head*, but through the *Arme* as an Inſtrument. For if ever the *Arme* impoſe ought on the *Hand*, which comes not from the *Head* (as it doth ſometimes in a flux of putrid humours from an ulcer in the *Arme*) in this Caſe the *Arme* erres in ſo impoſing on the *Hand*, but the *Hand* rebels not In rejecting what the *Arme* ſo ſends: becauſe it comes not from the *Head*. On which (and on which alone) all the members vertually *depend*, and not on any one or more fellow members.

All this while, though we diſpute the Independancie of Churches among themſelves; yet we have not the leaſt ſhadow of a Thought to withdraw any Church from the *Civill Magiſtrate*; Nay, Theſe men (whom our Biſhops brand ſo with Separation) moſt cordially affirme that if *Epiſcopacie* can prove greater or better *ſubjection*, or but equall to Them, They will not ſcruple to ſubſcribe to Them.

But alas, if we once give way to *Dependance* of *Churches*, muſt not the Church of *England* Depend on the *Dutch*; or the *Dutch* on *England*; as much as one Church in *England* muſt Depend on a *Provinciall* Church of *Canterbury*, or *Nationall* in all *England*?

And if the Engliſh Church muſt Depend on the *Dutch*, or *Dutch* on *Engliſh*, which ſhall be *Inferior*? This or That? by This Diſpute of *Precedencie*, we ſhall at length caſt all Churches into ſuch a Confuſion, as ſome of our

Biſhops Sees were heretofore, for ſuperiority. *Pompejus non admittit ſuperiorem, Cæſar non parem.* And now I conceive *Yorke* is Inferior to *Canterbury*, *Durham* to *Yorke*, not by any Law Morall, or of Nature, but poſitive of State.

Yea, by This *Dependance*, will follow a farre greater Evill than This diſpute and confuſion about *Precedencie*: For if One whole Church muſt ſo depend on another, then muſt alſo the Officers of This depend on Thoſe of That Church; And if ſo, ſhall not all Church Officers returne to the Pope at length, as to One Supreme Head on Earth.

Queſtion. If *Geneva* Depend on *France*, why not *France* on *Spaine*? *Spaine* on *Italy*? *Italy* on *Rome*? *Rome* on the Pope? And had I begunne a great deale lower, I ſhould have come up higher to This Head.

Perhaps All the *Inconveniences* that can be objected on *Independance*, though they could not be anſwered (as I conceive they may) will not ballance This One Inconvenience of *Dependance*. But no more of This.

The next Grand Inconvenience that may be feared on the removall of our Prelates, is *Licentia prædicandi*; not onely in that ſenſe in which This phraſe is uſed beyond the Seas, and was in that ſenſe forbidden under our Laſt Royall King *James*: That was *Licentia quoad Materiam*; This *quoad Perſonam*.

Now they ſay, Not onely Every *matter* will be preached, what every Miniſter pleaſeth, but alſo Every *Perſon* will turne *Preacher*: Even Shoomakers, Coblers, Feltmakers, and any other.

God is the God of Order, and not of Confuſion. And if *Order* is to be obſerved any where, It is ſure in matter of *Worſhip*: For if through the Churches default Diſorder breake in, at any cranev: you ſhall finde the Breach grow wider and wider every day: Except the

the Cleft be ſtopt, the Ship may quickly ſinke. And therefore I ſhall wholly agree, and joyne with Them that indeavour with the firſt, to allay the very ſemblance and apparition (leſſe than the leaſt bubling up) of *Diſorder.*

Onely this I could heartily wiſh, that Fire and Fagot may not determine this Controverſie; that Theſe men may not be dealt with, as were ſome of the Martyrs in Queene *Maries* daies; For oft when the Biſhops could not reply, They would ſtart up and ſweare by the *Faith of their Body*, that This was a dangerous, groſſe, and Heretical opinion: and All This was but a Prologue to That Tragedy, whoſe Epilogue was Flame and Fagot, or at leaſt the *Faſces* to younger men.

We have oft ſeene ſome of Theſe Preachers before the higheſt Tribunall in This Kingdome; For we thought it unreaſonable (with Thoſe in the *Acts*) to condemne any before they were heard.

I was not their Judge alone, nor will I be at This time. Onely that it may appeare I attended their pleading (as it becomes any in a Court of Juſtice) I will give the world an account, what Thoſe men ſay for themſelves; and ſo I ſhall leave them to be judged by wiſe men.

Firſt, they conceive there be ſome Ordinances which are proper onely to the *Church*, and *Church-Officers*, belonging onely to Church Aſſemblies (ſuch as is the Adminiſtration of Sacraments, the Conferring of Orders, and all of this nature) Theſe they thinke *Sacred*, ſuch as may not be touched by any but Church-Officers; and of Theſe they ſay, let *Vzzah* take heede how hee touch the *Arke*, though it ſhake.

But there are other Ordinances (they ſay) of a Middle nature; as they are exerciſed in a Church Aſſembly, by Church-Officers, They may truly be called *Church-Ordinances*; yet are ſuch as may be uſed Out of Church Aſſemblies, and therefore probably by Other then Church-

Officers; As Praying, Reading the Scripture, Catechiſing, Exhortation, and the like; which (as they conceive) are not confined to the *Church* onely, or *Church-Officers*.

1. Becauſe Heathens and Publicans may be admitted, nay ought to be invited, to Theſe *Ordinances*. And it ſeemes no Mortall ſinne, for a Lay-man in *China*, to call together a company of Heathens, and preach to them the Chriſtian Religion, yet here is no True Church, till a Congregation will Embrace This Doctrine, and joyne in ſerving God.

2. They conceive Our State, by publike authority, hath and doth allow ſo much as This. For they ſee Clerkes (even in publike Aſſemblies) Read Pſalmes, Prayers, and oft ſome parts of Scripture; Deacons preach, yea and Baptize, and helpe to adminiſter the Lords Supper, and yet no man takes them for complete Miniſters: yea of old, and perhaps now alſo by Law, they are not at all Clergy men.

3. Former Preachers have taught them, that every Maſter of a Family, may and muſt read, pray, Catechiſe, and the like, in his owne Family, if he have none there that can doe it better than himſelfe. Therefore Theſe ſeeme rather to come under the Notion of Private Duties rather than Publike Church-Ordinances; thongh ſometime they be performed in Churches, yet other times they may be performed out of Churches, and by Thoſe that are not publike Church Officers.

Therefore Theſe poore men (through their weakneſſe) thinke ſuch Ordinances Free to be performed by any Chriſtian, whether of the Clergy, or Laity. And their Zeale makes them conceive, If God give gifts of Underſtanding, Memory, Judgement, & Utterance; and an Earneſt Deſire to doe good with Theſe (leſt they wrap up their Talent in a Napkin) They have the Maine (to wit, an inward) Call to performe theſe duties in their owne Families: or elſe where, if They have an outward Call too.

For

For they solemnly professe, they hold it not fit to presse or intrude themselves on any Congregation: But if any will come of themselves, either to their owne Families: or send for them, and desire to heare them, among some Good men, they take this for a Call, an Outward Call, to performe Those duties, to that Congregation. For, they thinke the wayes of Gods Spirit are free, and not tied to a University man; so that having an Inward call, they conceive the desire of any One Congregation, is Outward call sufficient, though the Bishop call not.

Yea, some Exercises in Gods worship, They thinke there be, which are warranted from the Gift that enables, and not from the Call that invites: so that a man whom God hath enabled with Parts and Gifts, might use them, though no man Living call him. And this also is the Judgement of many Learned men; as of That Ingenuous, Worthy, Learned man Master *Thorndick*, of late Touching on That of the *Corinths*.

So long then as they Encroach not on Ordinances appropriate to *Church-Officers*, they thinke they sinne not in performing other duties, where there are none that can, or will, performe them better. They have learned Latine Enough to say, *Bonum quo Communius, eo melius*. They have read of *Moses*, wishing all the Lords People were Prophets; and that God would poure out his Spirit on them all.

Yea they have heard that God promised to poure out his Spirit upon all Flesh, all Beleevers (as well Lay as Clergie) so that Young men should see Visions, and Old men dreame Dreames, and though This were begunne to be accomplished Even in Our Saviours time, yet They (perhaps through ignorance) Expect it should be yet still more and more accomplished every day, till Knowledge Cover the Earth, as Waters fill the Sea; even till there be no more neede that any man should teach his neighbour, for all men shall know the Lord; and They poore

poore men Expect a new Heaven, and a new Earth, wherein there ſhall neede no more Temples of ſtone, but all Good men ſhall be Prophets, Prieſts, and Kings. In the meane time they ſay Waters muſt flow out of the bellies of all that beleeve, till at length the Great Waters of the Sanctuary flow forth without meaſure.

Yea, they are much encouraged from the Practiſe of the Church in the *Acts*, where all the members, Every beleever, being ſcattered by perſecution, went about Preaching.

Acts. 8.4,11, 19.

If it be Objected that This was an. Extraordinary Caſe; at the firſt beginning of the Church; and in time of Perſecution, &c.

They Anſwer, that they conceive almoſt as Extraordinary a Caſe in This Land, at This Time; Where the Church is ſo much unſetled, and hath beene ſo much perſecuted. In ſome places they ſee no Miniſters; ſcarce any in ſome whole Shires, as in *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Northumberland*, and eſpecially in *Wales*: Where the Church is even yet ſcarce (*& ne vix*) ſo much as well begunne to be planted, or the Goſpel Preached.

In Other places, where there is ſome ſhew of a *Church*, ſome Ordinances, ſome *Miniſters*; Yet even here, they thinke the Church calleth for many more Miniſters, at leaſt for much more, and much better preaching then it yet hath.

Specially ſince the late Cruell Tyranny of ſome Lording Prelates, hath almoſt quite put downe Ordinances, ſilenced Good Miniſters, and forbidden Preaching; Having ſo detained the Truth (and ſmothered it) by unrighteouſneſſe, that there is ſcarce left the Face of a True Church. They conceive This an extraordinary Time, an extraordinary Caſe, and Call, for all that are Enabled by God, with Parts and Gifts, fit for ſuch Exerciſes.

And they conceive 30. or 40. or an 100. Good men of any one or more Congregations, to be as Fit Judges of

of their parts and abilities every way, as One Lord Biſhop and his Ignorant (perhaps Drunken) Chaplaine; who make ſcruple of admitting any to Orders, but Bowers and Cringers, ſincks of Superſtition; Yet when they pleaſe, they can poze in an Alehouſe, and lay hands (well quickned with angels) on Tapſters, Coblers, Butchers, and many ſuch, that are ſo farre from the ſmell of a Colledge, that they never ſaw an Abcee or Primer to purpoſe, much leſſe a *Ferula* in a Grammer Schoole.

In the laſt place they ſolemnly profeſſe they are ready to heare or read, any that either by writing, preaching, or private diſcourſe ſhall informe them better than now they ſee or know. They would thanke any man that will ſatisfie their Conſciences, and convince their judgement: For, they profeſſe they are not acted by vaine-glory, or faction, but Conſcience and deſire of propagating Truth, and ſpreading the Goſpel, as God ſhall give them opportunities.

And ſuppoſing ſuch parts, gifts, and abilities, fit for thoſe duties; They conceive no man may upbraid them with poverty, or former living in a trade; which yet they thinke not altogether incompatible to Preaching: for they have read of Saint *Paul* (and others) intermixing his Sermons with making of Tents.

Yea though they have not ſuch parts and gifts as Saint *Paul*; yet they thinke the worke of Preaching much more compatible with all works of the Hands, than with any one other ſtudy of the braine, or minde: and yet they ſee many *Civill Lawyers* take Livings, and have Cure of Soules: Yea, and all their Lord Biſhops have Two Callings, Two ſeverall (oppoſite) Studies; and yet for all Thoſe Two, They can ſpend as much, or more time at Cards and Dice (or worſe) than at either of their Callings.

Nor are they ſo tied to their Outward Callings, but if the Church ſhall thinke it fit, they are ready to give

up all, and apply themſelves wholly to the ſtudy of Scriptures, and worke of the Miniſtery.

In the meane time they follow their *Callings*, (not living idlely, or going up and downe Tatling as Buſibodies) but being diligent to ſerve God both with their hands, hearts alſo, yea and tongues too, if God ſhall call them, and give opportunity as well as abilities."

I would not be miſtaken by my Reader. All this time I am ſpeaking *Their words*, not *my owne*; All that I deſire is, that they may have a faire Hearing, before they be ſeverely cenſured. And I move this the rather, becauſe they are ſtill ready to ſay, Moſt that condemne them never heard them: I could not but doe what in me lies, to remove This ſcandall.

It may be Expected I ſhould now ſhew my owne Opinion; and anſwer all Theſe Things, which Thoſe poore men ſay for themſelves. But I muſt confeſſe I am already almoſt tired with relating the Arguments of One part onely; ſo that I dare not ſet on the Other.

Neither indeed doe I thinke it needfull: Moſt of That which They ſay, being ſuch, that it is not like to doe much hurt; and ſo I thinke it not needfull to refute it. What muſt be refuted, may much better bee done by Others of better Parts, and ſounder judgements: for I know ſome that in One poore diſcourſe of *Truth*, are by their wit able to finde all the ſeventeene *Intellectuall Sinnes*; how much more in a diſcourſe of Error?

Only by the way, I cannot but ſhew how weakly Theſe poore Preachers anſwer ſome ſtrong objections brought againſt them.

As This in the Firſt place: That by This Courſe, All Errors and Hereſies ſhall quickly come to be vented and maintained in the Church, when every man may Preach that *will*, and what he will, without Controule.

To This Argument, All Their Anſwer, that I can remember, is This. Firſt,

Firſt, that They maintaine not that *Any* man may Preach that *Will*. No; They ſay it muſt be One of Parts, Gifts, and Abilities fit for a Preacher; and that not only in his owne fancie, but in the Judgement of many Godly men: Who (being many) are as like to be fit and able to judge of Abilities on Their Triall, as any One Biſhops Chaplaine; that yet uſeth to preſent to his Lord, after little or no poſing, One whom he never heard ſpeake, (much leſſe Preach or Pray) before he came for *Holy Orders*.

Secondly, they ſay, They maintaine not that any ſuch man (ſo Gifted, and Called, being judged fit by the votes of many) may yet Preach *what he will*. No, they are as much limited, and kept within bounds, as if they were licenced by the Biſhop.

For, if he Preach falſe Doctrine, Either in matters of Church or State, they ſay the Biſhops Keyes, or at leaſt his Long Sword, may reach him as well in a Parlor, or ſome little Pulpit, as if he were a *Licentiate* in a Great Cathedrall. And if he Preach no falſe Doctrine, muſt he ſuffer (ſay they) for Preaching True?

It is true, No wiſe man living will blame (much leſſe puniſh or fine) a man that ſpeakes a good True Diſcourſe of *Law*, or *Phyſicke*, though he be *Licentiate* in neither; But Theſe poore men conſider not, the Caſe is not the ſame in Preaching a True diſcourſe in Divinity. Yet let us give way, and they will ſpeake more.

Againe they ſay, Suppoſe they did hold (which they doe not) that Any man Living might Preach that would, and what he would; yet perhaps there would not follow ſo great Inconvenience as ſome imagine.

For, All ſuch ſuppoſed Preachers, are either *Wiſe* men or *Fooles*. If *Wiſe*, they will Preach *Wiſely*, and ſo doe *Good*. If *Fooles*, *Fooliſhly*, and ſo doe *no Hurt*, or at leaſt very little hurt: For, it is not for a *Foole* to broach an Hereſie, and maintaine it, or ſpread it much. No, *Arrius*, *Pelagius*, *Arminius*, and ſuch, were men of the Greateſt Parts, but ſet wrong.

Yea ſuppoſe ſome of Theſe *Non Licentiate* Preachers be men of the greateſt parts poſſible, and ſo poſſible to become dangerous Heretiques; Doth the Hereſie ſpread it ſelfe the more for not being *Licenſed*? Might not This Great man doe as much hurt (yea much more) if he were Licenſed, than now he is not?

If any anſwer, It is True, He is like to do more hurt, if Licenſed; but therefore the Biſhop in wiſedome will not Licenſe him.

They rejoyne: Firſt, is it probable One Biſhop in This caſe will ſhew more care and conſcience, than twenty or thirty Good men in a Congregation, where This parted Man would preach?

But againe, Suppoſe there be never a Good man (in all his Auditory;) or that all the Good men there, will not have care to ſuppreſſe This man from doing hurt: How ſhall, how can the Biſhop do This? How can he keepe him from venting, and ſpreading his Hereſie?

Firſt, when this man comes for a Licenſe to the Biſhop, No man can tell how he meanes to Preach, (when hee is Licenſed) except the Biſhop perchance be a Prophet alſo, as well as a Prieſt and King?

Either he hath Preached, (before his comming for This Licenſe) or he hath not. If he have not, No Biſhop can tell how he will preach; nor can any wiſe man living commend him to the Biſhop, as fit to make a Good Preacher: ſince He that is the Beſt Scholler living, and perhaps as good a man as any, yet may prove but an ill preacher.

If he have preached before, and done well, without Licenſe, then it ſeemes it is lawfull to preach without a Licenſe: for probation no doubt, (though moſt of late have denyed This) But I aske how long ſhall he be a Probationer? how many yeares, months, weekes? Though he preach ten good Sermons, no man can tell, but in the next he meanes to broach an Hereſie.

But alas Theſe poore men ſee not how weake all This

is.

is. For, Is it not easie for three or foure men, or a Bishops Chaplain to commend a man (be he Scholler, or Groom, or Butler, or what he will:) let the Bishop without seeing or smelling This man, give him his blessing blindfold, and seale him a *Licence*, What hurt is in all This? For, if This man preach well, the Church will get good: if ill, cannot the Bishop as soone pull him downe, as he set him up?

They answer, Suppose he may, (which is hard to suppose, since Orders once given, leave an *Indelible Character*) why may not ten or twenty men, Good men in a Congregation, as well set up a man, and try how hee will prove? For if Well, it is Well; hee will do good: If ill, These ten or twenty men can as easily pull him downe againe, as set him up.

Not so. For the Bishop is still a very wise, discreete, Good, Holy man and being entrusted by the Church, will have a speciall care, even more than an hundred others, to set up a good man, or else pull him quickly downe againe.

To This they yet answer, The Bishop cannot tell how or what he preacheth when he hath set him up, (except hee can be present in all places, at least many at Once, to heare all young preachers, that he Liceuseth;) and therefore though he would pull him downe, yet he cannot becaus he cannot be still present to heare him. Though he come once, twice, ten times, yet the Preacher may hold in, all his Herise, till he see the Bishop absent; and sometimes he must be absent.

But may not the Congregation then goe and complaine to the Bishop, if their Preacher do amisse? and upon complaint the Bishop will, may and must suppresse that error.

If he doe not (they say) They are still where they were. But if he do Censure This Preacher, on the complaint of the Congregation; Either he sees they complaine unjustly (and then He doth injustice in censuring-

Yea ſuppoſe ſome of Theſe *Non Licentiate* Preachers be men of the greateſt parts poſſible, and ſo poſſible to become dangerous Heretiques; Doth the Hereſie ſpread it ſelfe the more for not being *Licenſed*? Might not This Great man doe as much hurt (yea much more) if he were Licenſed, than now he is not?

If any anſwer, It is True, He is like to do more hurt, if Licenſed; but therefore the Biſhop in wiſedome will not Licenſe him.

They rejoyne: Firſt, is it probable One Biſhop in This caſe will ſhew more care and conſcience, than twenty or thirty Good men in a Congregation, where This parted Man would preach?

But againe, Suppoſe there be never a Good man (in all his Auditory;) or that all the Good men there, will not have care to ſuppreſſe This man from doing hurt: How ſhall, how can the Biſhop do This? How can he keepe him from venting, and ſpreading his Hereſie?

Firſt, when this man comes for a Licenſe to the Biſhop, No man can tell how he meanes to Preach, (when hee is Licenſed) except the Biſhop perchance be a Prophet alſo, as well as a Prieſt and King?

Either he hath Preached, (before his comming for This Licenſe) or he hath not. If he have not, No Biſhop can tell how he will preach; nor can any wiſe man living commend him to the Biſhop, as fit to make a Good Preacher: ſince He that is the Beſt Scholler living, and perhaps as good a man as any, yet may prove but an ill preacher.

If he have preached before, and done well, without Licenſe, then it ſeemes it is lawfull to preach without a Licenſe: for probation no doubt, (though moſt of late have denyed This) But I aske how long ſhall he be a Probationer? how many yeares, months, weekes? Though he preach ten good Sermons, no man tan tell, but in the next he meanes to broach an Hereſie.

But alas Theſe poore men ſee not how weake all This

is.

it. For, Is it not eaſie for three or foure men, or a Biſhops Chaplain to commend a man (be he Scholler, or Groom, or Butler, or what he will:) let the Biſhop without ſeeing or ſmelling This man, give him his bleſſing blindfold, and ſeale him a *Licence*, What hurt is in all This? For, if This man preach well, the Church will get good: if ill, cannot the Biſhop as ſoone pull him downe, as he ſet him up?

They anſwer, Suppoſe he may, (which is hard to ſuppoſe, ſince Orders once given, leave an *Indelible Character*) why may not ten or twenty men, Good men in a Congregation, as well ſet up a man, and try how hee will prove? For if Well, it is Well; hee will do good: If ill, Theſe ten or twenty men can as eaſily pull him downe againe, as ſet him up.

Not ſo. For the Biſhop is ſtill a very wiſe, diſcreete, Good, Holy man and being entruſted by the Church, will have a ſpeciall care, even more than an hundred others, to ſet up a good man, or elſe pull him quickly downe againe.

To This they yet anſwer, The Biſhop cannot tell how or what he preacheth when he hath ſet him up, (except hee can be preſent in all places, at leaſt many at Once, to heare all young preachers, that he Liceuſeth;) and therefore though he would pull him downe, yet he cannot becauſe he cannot be ſtill preſent to heare him. Though he come once, twice, ten times, yet the Preacher may hold in, all his Heriſe, till he ſee the Biſhop abſent; and ſometimes he muſt be abſent.

But may not the Congregation then goe and complaine to the Biſhop, if their Preacher do amiſſe? and upon complaint the Biſhop will, may and muſt ſuppreſſe that error.

If he doe not (they ſay) They are ſtill where they were. But if he do Cenſure This Preacher, on the complaint of the Congregation; Either he ſees they complaine unjuſtly (and then He doth injuſtice in cenſuring-

Yea ſuppoſe ſome of Theſe *Non Licentiate* Preachers be men of the greateſt parts poſſible, and ſo poſſible to become dangerous Heretiques; Doth the Hereſie ſpread it ſelfe the more for not being *Licenſed*? Might not This Great man doe as much hurt (yea much more) if he were Licenſed, than now he is not?

If any anſwer, It is True, He is like to do more hurt, if Licenſed; but therefore the Biſhop in wiſedome will not Licenſe him.

They rejoyne: Firſt, is it probable One Biſhop in This caſe will ſhew more care and conſcience, than twenty or thirty Good men in a Congregation, where This parted Man would preach?

But againe, Suppoſe there be never a Good man (in all his Auditory;) or that all the Good men there, will not have care to ſuppreſſe This man from doing hurt: How ſhall, how can the Biſhop do This? How can he keepe him from venting, and ſpreading his Hereſie?

Firſt, when this man comes for a Licenſe to the Biſhop, No man can tell how he meanes to Preach, (when hee is Licenſed) except the Biſhop perchance be a Prophet alſo, as well as a Prieſt and King?

Either he hath Preached, (before his comming for This Licenſe) or he hath not. If he have not, No Biſhop can tell how he will preach; nor can any wiſe man living commend him to the Biſhop, as fit to make a Good Preacher: ſince He that is the Beſt Scholler living, and perhaps as good a man as any, yet may prove but an ill preacher.

If he have preached before, and done well, without Licenſe, then it ſeemes it is lawfull to preach without a Licenſe: for probation no doubt, (though moſt of late have denyed This) But I aske how long ſhall he be a Probationer? how many yeares, months, weekes? Though he preach ten good Sermons, no man can tell, but in the next he meanes to broach an Hereſie.

But alas Theſe poore men ſee not how weake all This is.

it. For, Is it not easie for three or foure men, or a Bishops Chaplain to commend a man (be he Scholler, or Groom, or Butler, or what he will:) let the Bishop without seeing or smelling This man, give him his blessing blindfold, and seale him a *Licence*, What hurt is in all This? For, if This man preach well, the Church will get good: if ill, cannot the Bishop as soone pull him downe, as he set him up?

They answer, Suppose he may, (which is hard to suppose, since Orders once given, leave an *Indelible Character*) why may not ten or twenty men, Good men in a Congregation, as well set up a man, and try how hee will prove? For if Well, it is Well; hee will do good: If ill, These ten or twenty men can as easily pull him downe againe, as set him up.

Not so. For the Bishop is still a very wise, discreete, Good, Holy man and being entrusted by the Church, will have a speciall care, even more than an hundred others, to set up a good man, or else pull him quickly downe againe.

To This they yet answer, The Bishop cannot tell how or what he preacheth when he hath set him up, (except hee can be present in all places, at least many at Once, to heare all young preachers, that he Liceuseth;) and therefore though he would pull him downe, yet he cannot because he cannot be still present to heare him. Though he come once, twice, ten times, yet the Preacher may hold in, all his Herise, till he see the Bishop absent; and sometimes he must be absent.

But may not the Congregation then goe and complaine to the Bishop, if their Preacher do amisse? and upon complaint the Bishop will, may and must suppresse that error.

If he doe not (they say) They are still where they were. But if he do Censure This Preacher, on the complaint of the Congregation; Either he sees they complaine unjustly (and then He doth injustice in censuring-

upon an unjuſt complaint) or elſe he muſt yeeld they complaine juſtly; and then he alſo grants, that This Congregation hath wiſedome enough to judge, whether a man preach well or ill; and if ſo, why may not the Congregation cenſure him for ill preaching, without complaint to one Biſhop?

Sed fruſtra fit per plures, quod fieri poteſt per pauciores. And ſo I leave This, and come to another great Queſtion, that is wont ſtill to be propounded to Theſe poore *Non Licenſed* Preachers.

It is This, why (if indeed they be fit, or ſeeme fit, or do but thinke themſelves fit to be Miniſters, why then) do they not enter into *Orders*? or at leaſt preſent themſelves, ſhewing their deſire to be in Holy *Orders*, if indeed they may be found fit for the Miniſtery, as they thinke themſelves? Why do they halt betweene Two? either let them ſerve the Church wholly, and ſo be in Orders; or elſe let them forbeare, and not meddle with diſpenſing of Holy Ordinances.

This ſeemed to mee a very ſerious Queſtion, and therefore I much deſired to heare their Anſwers.

Some of them ſay, they know not yet whether they be worthy, or fit to take on them Thoſe Greater Offices which follow Orders, onely they deſire they may have leave (as Probationers) to exerciſe, or keepe Acts, before the Church; 'till the Church ſhall approve of them, and call them out (judging them faithfull) for higher imployment, or generally to diſpenſe all the Ordinances. In the meane time, They meddle onely with ſuch Ordinances, as they conceive not proper to Church Officers onely, but in ſome ſort common to all Chriſtians, yea to all men, as was ſaid before.

Others ſay, they would gladly (with all their Hearts) be conſecrated to God, and wholly give themſelves up to his ſervice and worſhip in the Miniſtery; but they are afraid to take *Orders*, as *Orders* are now conferred, in This State. And yet in the meane time, they dare not abſtaine from

from Preaching, (where they have opportunity, and a Willing Auditory) leſt they ſhould detaine the Truth, God hath revealed to them; and ſhould be guilty of hiding their Talent in a Napkin. For they thinke they may do many Things belonging (though not proper) to a Miniſter; though they be not, nor can be (as things now ſtand) in holy Orders. Their Inſtance is *David*, who was a *King*, and of the Tribe of *Judah*, and ſo could be neither *Prieſt* nor *Levite*; yet they find King *David* often *Preaching*; elſe they underſtand not the meaning of Thoſe Phraſes, O *come hither and I will ſhew you what God hath done for my poore ſoule*, and the like.

If theſe men in This be ſerious, and do not pretend Conſcience where it is ſome other Principle that acts them, to ſome low end: I cannot but much pity them; that if they be fit, they neither may be licenſed, nor yet preach without Licenſe. But let us ſee why they dare not enter into *Orders*, and ſo be Licenſed Miniſters.

They anſwer that they have not ſo much againſt *Orders* conferr'd by our Church, or the manner of conferring them (though under ſome Biſhops, This hath beene very ſtrange, and not warrantable either by Law of God or man, they conceive) as they have in their judgment and conſciences, againſt the *Power* conferring them.

For they doubt not to affirme, that He (who ever he be) that taketh on himſelfe power, which the Scripture hath not given him, to appoint, dictate or command, any one Thing either in Doctrine or Diſcipline: though the Thing it ſelfe might poſſibly be good, yet He that ſo dictates, is *Antichriſtian*, encroaching on the *Regall* Office of *Chriſt*; and ſo a *Traytor* in Religion.

Now they dare not touch That, which (how Good ſoever in it ſelfe, yet) comes in Power and Vertue of an Antichriſtian Traytor. Yea though ſuch an one ſhould command them a Thing very lawfull in it ſelfe, (as to weare a blacke cloath) yet if Hee have not Commiſſion to Command, from Scripture, they conceive He incurres

a *Pre-*

a *Premunire* with God, becauſe he takes on him to do that (as an Officer) for which he is not *fore-armed with lawfull authority*. In this caſe they thinke they ought not to obey Him ſo commanding: becauſe though the Thing in it ſelfe be lawfull to be done, yet they thinke him an unlawfull Commander, and ſo dare not obey; if for no other Reaſon, yet for This, that by obeying here, they ſhall betray not onely their owne Priviledges, (which yet are very precious) but alſo the Liberties and priviledge of all the Subjects of Chriſt, even of the whole Church; ſo that they become Traytors to their ſpirituall Common-wealth.

They give This Inſtance in Civill Things. Suppoſe a Sheriffe, that is a lawfull Officer, come and command me to give him forty pound, of his owne head, without lawfull Authority to beck his command. they ſay, if in This Caſe I give him forty ſhillings, I betray not onely my owne priviledge, (which perhaps I may do) but alſo the whole Liberty of the Commonwealth, and ſo become (*in Re*) a Traytor to the State: though in it ſelfe it be lawfull to give forty ſhillings to any man that askes, yet now I muſt not do it, becauſe This officer commands it by unlawfull Authority, and ſo without Commiſſion.

Not yet that they thinke it neceſſary to ſtay diſputing the Authority of a Commander, there where is no appearance of Ground for a Doubt. But if once they ſee and know the Command is grounded on no lawfull Authority; or do but really doubt whether the *Power Commanding*, or the *Thing Commanded* be Lawfull: They conceive themſelves bound to abſtaine till their judgement be cleared, (which they profeſſe to deſire, and by all lawfull meanes to endeavour) leſt while they doe, they be condemned in their owne conſciences, becauſe they do not act in *Faith: and what is not of faith is ſinne.*

I muſt

I muſt leave Theſe Things to be diſcuſſed by men of better judgements. In the meane time I humbly deſire againe I may not be miſ-underſtood; for it is not in my thoughts to abet the leaſt miſcarriage in any one of theſe poore men: nor by any meanes to countenance any of them, in a way of exerciſing thoſe Duties that are too high for their parts, and abilities which God hath given them. yet if there be any of them that have extraordinary parts, and endowments of judgement, memory, and utterance; if God ſtirre up theſe to improve their Gifts to the beſt advantage, yet with all meekneſſe, and humility; I dare not condemne them till I heare them: for I know the Spirit of God is not tyed to our Fancies, but yet the *Spirit of the Prophets is ſubject to the Prophets.*

I take not on me to warrant all the paths which ſome cut out to themſelves: Yet I moſt affectionately intreat men not to contemne all things in thoſe they now brand with their uſuall ſtaine of *Separatiſme*; which phraſe many uſe in ſuch ſcorn, as if with one ſtab (of that Italian dagger) they could run through Body and Soule at once.

Light was one of the firſt Creatures, and yet not perfected till the fourth Day, (and perhaps not fully then) ſo was ſpirituall *Light* the beginning of *Reformation*, That *New Creation*; yet it was not perfect at firſt dawning, but increaſeth ſtill by degrees, till it have quite chaſed away darkneſſe, and there be no more Night. All men yeeld there muſt be an increaſe of light in the world; Now whether That be more probable to be in *Doctrine* or *Diſcipline*, judge yee.

At the firſt Riſing out of Popery, the Church-leſſe Church of the *Albigenſes* & *Waldenſes*, (Holy Good men) began an admirable Reformation. This was much advanced by *Jerome* of *Prague*, and *John Hus*. *Luther* had many groſſe errours, yet muſt not loſe his place among Theſe glorious Lights. After theſe appeareth *Calvin*, ſhining yet brighter both in Doctrine & Diſcipline. Since

Him Our God hath raiſed up a more glorious Light among Theſe Northerne Iles. And yet ſome went from us lately with a candle burning, brighter perhaps than Ours; though it were lighted here. Thus Light dilating, & enlarging it ſelfe, ſeemeth to become more pure, more Light, more Glorious; and yet it ſeemes not to be Noone. The Light ſtill will, muſt, cannot but increaſe; why then do we ſhut our eyes? Let it not be ſaid of us, that Light came in, and grew up among us, yet we would not uſe it (for we cannot but receive it) becauſe wee loved darkneſſe.

Godly men may not onely neglect, but abuſe light; Yea they may both *grieve*, and *quench* Gods Holy *Spirit*. A ſad caſe! yet are they not ſtill in ſome part *Carnall*? and the *Fleſh* not onely luſteth, but warreth againſt the *Spirit*.

We are too too apt to ſleight the ſweet breathings of Gods Spirit, which Hee is pleaſed to communicate to others when we are deſtitute of the ſame Workings. Some Chriſtians are as it were wholly legall; they Faſt, they Pray, receive Sacraments, heare Sermons, pay every one his owne, live inoffenſively: This is well done, but This is not All; yet This they take for enjoying God in Chriſt Jeſus. But alas! *Quantum diſtat ab illo? Non eſt vivere, ſed valere vita.* Theſe men may well be ſaved hereafter, but in the meane time, they loſe the ſweeteſt part of their life here.

On the other ſide, if God pleaſe to communicate himſelfe in any manner of ſweetneſſe, ſo that a man begins to taſte and ſee how Good Communion & acquaintance with God is; how eaſily it is interrupted by looſe walking; how ſweete it is while enjoyed; ſo that it raviſheth the ſoule, and filleth the whole Heart, that it cannot but flow out at the Lips, in ſweete breathings of, for, and after God in Chriſt Jeſus, God in Chriſt Jeſus. This man is preſently ſtained with a taint of *Madneſſe*, and I know not what *Enthuſiaſme*. If one that hath taſted and experimentally

rimentally found the ſweetneſſe of Peace of Conſcience, & knows how unpoſſible it is to keep it, but by cloſe walking with God; how eaſily it is broken; and how hardly it is made up againe when broken: ſo that he is content to leave Friends, Living, Liberty, All, rather than to breake his Peace, wound his Conſcience, ſinne againſt God, in ſinning againſt Light, or acting againſt Doubts. O this man is beyond all Rule of Reaſon; He hath a Tang of Phrenſie; one puft up with a ſpirit of ſelfe conceit; a Ranke *Separatiſt*.

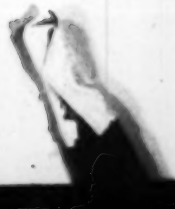
But ſure it ſhould not be ſo among Chriſtians. Can we not diſſent in judgement (ſpecially in Theſe lower points of *Diſcipline*, while we agree in *Doctrine*) but we muſt alſo diſ-agree in *Affection*? A Hard Caſe!

I confeſſe there are many now that turne the Light of Truth, into a Life of Looſeneſſe, vanity, and profaneneſſe; and we are all too too prone to This. There are ſome Enthuſiaſtickes, who prophane the Spirit. This I would reſiſt with all my might. But let not all ſuffer with the wicked. Some without warrant runne away from their callings, and take up a bare, empty, fruitleſſe Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, without the leaſt dramme of life or power; Theſe men my ſoule hateth.

But when God ſhall ſo enlarge his Hand, and unveile his face, that the poore Creature is brought into Communion and acquaintance with his Creator; ſteered in all his wayes by His Spirit; and by it carried up above ſhame, feare, pleaſure, comfort, loſſes, grave, and death it ſelfe; Let us not cenſure ſuch Tempers, but bleſſe God for them. So farre as Chriſt is in us, we ſhall love, priſe, honour Chriſt, and the leaſt particle of his Image in Others: For we never Prove our ſelves true members of Chriſt more, then when we embrace his members with moſt enlarged, yet ſtraiteſt Affections.

To This end, God aſſiſting mee, my deſire, prayer, indeavour ſhall ſtill be, as much as in mee lyes, to follow Peace and holineſſe. and though there may haply be

ſome little diſſent betweene my darke judgement, weake conſcience, and other Good men, that are much more cleare and ſtrong; yet my prayer ſtill ſhall be, to *keepe the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.* And as many as walke after This Rule, Peace I hope ſhall ſtill be on Them, and the whole Iſrael of God.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

FINIS.